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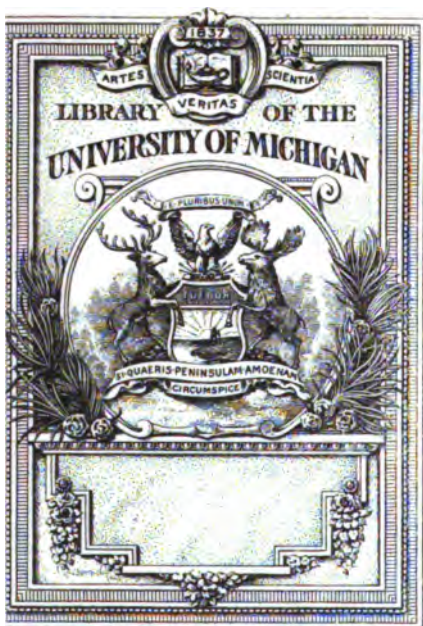
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THE

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# CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

## RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

VOLUME XLI.

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FOURTH SERIES, VOLUME VI.

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JULY, SEPTEMBER, NOVEMBER, 1846.

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# CONTENTS.

---

Article	Page
<b>I. — PROTESTANTISM,</b> - - - - -	1
1. A Synopsis of Popery, as it was and as it is. By William Hogan.	
2. Auricular Confession and Popish Nunneries. By William Hogan.	
3. Spiritual Direction, and Auricular Confession; their History, Theory and Consequences. Be- ing a Translation of "Du Pretre, de la Femme, de la Famille." By M. Michelet.	
4. The Roman Church and Modern Society. Translated from the French of Prof. E. Quinet. By C. Edwards Lester.	
5. History of the Great Reformation of the Six- teenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, etc. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. Vol. IVth.	
<b>II. — FOX'S HISTORY OF DUNSTABLE,</b> - - - - -	18
History of the old Township of Dunstable; includ- ing Nashua, Nashville, etc. N. H.; Dunstable and Tyngsborough, Mass. By Charles J. Fox.	
<b>III. — THE AFRICAN RACE,</b> - - - - -	33
<b>IV. — PULPIT ELOCUTION,</b> - - - - -	49
Pulpit Elocution: comprising Suggestions on the Importance of Study; Remarks on the Effects of Manner in Preaching; the Rules of reading exemplified, etc. By William Russell.	
<b>V. — HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY,</b> -	56
Historical and Artistic Illustrations of the Trinity; showing the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Doctrine; with Elucidatory Engravings. By Rev. J. R. Beard, D. D.	
<b>VI. — MILLERISM,</b> - - - - -	87
<b>VII. — WHEWELL'S ETHICS,</b> - - - - -	97
The Elements of Morality, including Polity. By William Whewell, D. D.	
<b>VIII. — CONGREGATIONALISM VINDICATED,</b> - - - -	103
A Dudleian Lecture, read in the Chapel of Harvard College, May 13, 1846, by Rev. Alexander Young.	

Article	Page
<b>IX. — UNIVERSITY EDUCATION,</b> - - - - -	<b>123</b>
1. Addresses at the Inauguration of the Hon. Edward Everett, LL. D., as President of the University at Cambridge.	
2. On the Origin of Universities and Academical Degrees. By Henry Malden, M. A.	
3. German University Education; or the Professors and Students of Germany. By Walter C. Perry, Phil. Dr.	
4. Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung. 1845.	
<b>NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.</b>	
Self-Formation, - - - - -	136
Huntington's Lessons on the Parables,—Cartee's Questions, - - - - -	137
Barnap's Memoir of Ingalls, - - - - -	138
Wilson's Scripture Proofs and Scriptural Illustrations of Unitarianism, - - - - -	139
Woodman's Journal, etc. - - - - -	140
Dana's Forecastle Tom, - - - - -	141
Pascal's Thoughts, - - - - -	141
Stowe's Missionary Enterprise, - - - - -	142
Epistolary Declaration and Testimony of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, etc. - - - - -	142
Decanver's Catalogue of Works in Refutation of Methodism, - - - - -	144
Cicero, de Natura Deorum, - - - - -	145
Peabody's Ordination Sermon,—Newell's Discourse on the Cambridge Church-Gathering,—Flint's Discourse on Dr. Brazer's Death,—Waterston's Dedication Discourse,—Ellis's Artillery Election Sermon,—Ellis's Lecture on Temperance,—Quincy's Vindication of Graham,—Spooner's Poverty,—Boston: A Poem,	145
<b>INTELLIGENCE.</b>	
Religious Intelligence.—Ecclesiastical Record,—The Anniversary Meetings,—American Unitarian Association,—The Collation,—Ministerial Conference,—Sunday School Society,—Convention of Congregational Ministers,—Religious Services,—Ordinations and Installations, -	147
Obituary.—Rev. Robert Aspland, - - - - -	155

## CONTENTS.

Article	Page
<b>I. — RELATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY TO REFORM,</b> [An Address delivered before the Ministerial Conference in Boston, May 27, 1846. By Rev. Edward B. Hall.]	157
<b>II. — THE CAUSE OF PEACE,</b> -   -   -   -   - 1. Memoir of Thomas Thrush, Esq. By Rev. C. Wellbeloved. 2. Plea for Peace. A Discourse. By Daniel Sharp. 3. A Sermon on War. By Theodore Parker. 4. An Oration delivered July 4, 1846. By Fletcher Webster. 5. The Advocate of Peace. Nos. 1—6.	173
<b>III. — THE CHURCHES AND THE CHURCH,</b> -   -   -	193
<b>IV. — MUNFORD'S ILIAD,</b> -   -   -   -   - Homer's Iliad. Translated by William Munford.	205
<b>V. — SPHERE OF HUMAN INFLUENCE,</b> -   -   -	213
<b>VI. — HOPKINS'S LECTURES,</b> -   -   -   -   - Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, before the Lowell Institute. By Mark Hopkins, D. D.	216
<b>VII. — POETRY,</b> -   -   -   -   -   -   - Hymn of Worship, — Lines on the Deaths of Little Children, — Revelation, — Press Thou On.	224
<b>VIII. — FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF CONGREGATIONALISM,</b> 1. History of Congregationalism, from about A. D. 250 to 1616. By George Punchard. 2. A Church without a Bishop. The Apostolical and Primitive Church, Popular in its Government, and Simple in its Worship. By Lyman Coleman. 3. The Puritans and their Principles. By Edwin Hall. 4. Congregationalism, a Discourse. By Alvan Lamson. 5. Puritanism, or a Churchman's Defence against its Aspersions. By Thomas W. Coit, D. D.	230
<b>IX. — DANGERS AND DUTIES OF YOUNG MEN,</b> -   - 1. Letters to Young Men on their Moral Dangers and Duties. By Rev. A. A. Livermore.	259

Article	Page
2. Duties of Young Men. By Rev. E. H. Chapin.	
3. Letters to Young Men, founded on the History of Joseph. By William B. Sprague, D. D.	
4. Counsels addressed to Young Women, Young Men, etc. By Matthew Hale Smith.	
5. Lectures to Young Men. By Henry Ward Beecher.	
X. — JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH, - - - - -	272
XI. — YOUNG'S CHRONICLES, - - - - -	281
Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636. Now first collected from original records and contemporaneous documents, and illustrated with Notes. By Alexander Young.	
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.	
Stuart's Miscellanies, - - - - -	293
Greenleaf's Examination of the Testimony of the Four Evangelists, - - - - -	296
Edes's Discourses, - - - - -	297
Ullman's Worship of Genius, - - - - -	298
Ulrici's Shakspeare's Dramatic Art, - - - - -	299
Halm's Griselda, - - - - -	300
Tuckerman's Thoughts on the Poets, - - - - -	302
Smith's Memoir of Fichte, - - - - -	302
Fox's Acts of the Apostles, - - - - -	303
Green's Efforts at Christian Culture, - - - - -	303
Barnard's Report on Public Schools of Rhode Island, - - - - -	304
Ware's David Ellington, - - - - -	304
INTELLIGENCE.	
<i>Religious Intelligence.</i> — Ecclesiastical Record, — Cambridge Divinity School, — Meadville Theological School, — Unitarian Association of State of New York, — British and Foreign Unitarian Association, — Sunday School Association, (England) — Installation, — Dedications,	305
<i>Literary Intelligence.</i> — New Works, — Serial Works,	310

## CONTENTS.

---

Article	Page
<b>I.—THE MYTHICAL THEORY APPLIED TO THE LIFE OF JESUS,</b> - - - - - The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined. By David Friedrich Strauss. Translated from the Fourth German Edition.	313
<b>II.—THE TRUE IDEA OF PRIEST AND KING,</b> - - - An Address delivered before the Association of the Alumni of the Cambridge Divinity School. By W. B. O. Peabody, D. D.	355
<b>III.—ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRINITY,</b> - Iconographie Chrétienne. Histoire de Dieu. Par M. Didron.	365
<b>IV.—SUBJECTS FOR THE PULPIT,</b> - - - - -	381
<b>V.—GREENWOOD'S MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS,</b> - The Miscellaneous Writings of F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D.	392
<b>VI.—CHEEVER'S WRITINGS,</b> - - - - - 1. Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress and on the Life and Times of John Bunyan. By Rev. George B. Cheever. 2. Wanderings of a Pilgrim in the Shadow of Mont Blanc. By George B. Cheever, D. D. 3. The Pilgrim in the Shadow of the Jungfrau Alp. By George B. Cheever, D. D.	404
<b>VII.—NEW HYMN BOOK,</b> - - - - - A Book of Hymns for Public and Private Devotion.	422

Article	Page
<b>VIII.—CHARACTER AND POSITION OF CONGREGATIONALISM,</b>	<b>427</b>
Report on Congregationalism, including a Manual of Church Discipline, together with the Cambridge Platform, adopted in 1648, and the Confession of Faith, adopted in 1680.	
<b>NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.</b>	
Dewey's Discourses and Reviews upon Questions in Controversial Theology and Practical Religion, -	452
Waylen's Ecclesiastical Reminiscences of the United States, - - - - -	453
Worcester's Universal and Critical Dictionary, -	455
Mann's Lectures on Education, - - - - -	456
CEhlenschlager's Correggio, — Grillparzer's Sappho,	457
Wyman's Practical Treatise on Ventilation, - -	458
Abbot's The Olneys, - - - - -	458
Tuthill's My Wife, - - - - -	459
Peirce's Treatise on Curves, - - - - -	459
Plumer's Lyrica Sacra, - - - - -	459
Thoughts from Channing, - - - - -	460
Sacred Meditations, - - - - -	460
The People's Journal, - - - - -	460
Munn's Statement of Reasons,—Allen's Centennial Discourse,—Lothrop's Sermon on the hundredth birth-day of Ezra Green,—Niles's Sermon on Church of the Pilgrims,—Harrington's Fourth of July Oration,—Whitaker's Address,—Sumner's Phi Beta Kappa Address,—Clarke's Poem,—Chapin's Oration,—Polk's Claim of Church of Rome etc. -	460
<b>INTELLIGENCE.</b>	
<i>Religious Intelligence.</i> —Ecclesiastical Record,—Ministry at Large,—Evangelical Alliance,—Ordinations and Installations, - - - - -	463
<i>Miscellaneous Intelligence.</i> —Monumental Inscriptions—Harvard University, - - - - -	465



THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER  
AND  
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JULY, 1846.

ART. I.—PROTESTANTISM.\*

THE anti-Romanist organizations and movements of the day are making larger contributions to our vernacular literature, than we have room to chronicle. Of the list of books given below, the first four are strictly works of con-

\* 1. *A Synopsis of Popery, as it was and as it is.* By WILLIAM HOGAN, Esq., formerly Roman Catholic Priest. Boston: Redding & Co. 1845. 16mo. pp. 219.

2. *Auricular Confession and Popish Nunneries.* By WILLIAM HOGAN, formerly Roman Catholic Priest, etc. Boston: Saxton & Kelt; B. Perkins & Co. 1845. 16mo. pp. 215.

3. *Spiritual Direction, and Auricular Confession; their History, Theory and Consequences. Being a Translation of "Du Pretre, de la Femme, de la Famille."* By M. MICHELET, Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Letters; Professor in the Normal School; Chief of the Historical Section of Archives of France, etc. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell. 1845. 12mo. pp. 224.

4. *The Roman Church and Modern Society.* Translated from the French of Prof. E. QUINET, of the College of France. By C. EDWARDS LESTER. New York: Gates & Stedman. 1845. 12mo. pp. viii. 198.

5. *History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, etc.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, President of the Theological School of Geneva, etc. Assisted in the preparation of the English Original by H. WHITE, B. A., etc. Vol. IVth. New York: Robert Carter. 1846. 12mo. pp. 480.

VOL. XLI. — 4TH. S. VOL. VI. NO I.

troversy, while the fifth owes the cheap form and the vast circulation of its successive volumes to zealous polemic agencies.

Hogan's "Popery as it was and is" is a strange medley of extracts from the Decrees of the Council of Trent, familiar historical facts, and bursts of angry, empty declamation. It contains no connected statement or logical reasoning; but is an exaggerated specimen of the *argumentum ad invidiam*, adapted to the receptivity of church and convent burners, or of those members of the Protestant League, whose discretion bears an infinitesimal proportion to their zeal. The "Auricular Confession and Popish Nunneries," by the same author, has for its foreground certain disgusting details of debauchery and dissoluteness on the part of Romish priests, under cover of the confessional or the cloister. We are told that the author is an honest man; and he professes to speak from as intimate personal knowledge as an innocent party can gain of such hidden iniquity. We cannot therefore doubt the appalling and heart-sickening facts which he narrates, but they are too few to authorize the sweeping inductions founded on them. He has however shown, if possible, with new clearness and impressiveness, the danger to chastity and purity, growing out of the established ritual of confession alike in church and convent. It opens such temptations, and affords such facilities for vice, as undoubtedly to corrupt and deprave multitudes of priests, who enter upon their official duties with no evil purpose, and to demand, in the confessor who shall not abuse his office, adamant principles of virtue and a high standard of religious self-consecration.

Michelet's work was designed to illustrate the baneful influence of the established system of confession and spiritual direction, as regards the intimacy, purity and happiness of the domestic union. It has its direct application only to the idiosyncrasies of French society, and its reasoning is vitiated by an utterly incorrect appreciation of the tone and spirit of Quietism, nay, by gross misrepresentations of Fenelon's religious correspondence, than which the entire range of Christian literature comprises no more truly apostolic writings. This work is fitted for the popular market by a title *ad captandum*, and a highly inflammatory and rather vulgar "Translator's Preface."

Quinet's "Roman Church and Modern Society" may be a valuable book for those who can read it, and it may perhaps in the original be not wholly unworthy the author's distinguished reputation. But the pompous, awkward translation before us is in an idiom all its own, and bearing equally remote kindred to the French and the English. We cannot but infer, however, from this mere *travestie* of his work, that M. Quinet has sacrificed too largely to artistical and rhetorical effect. The substratum of facts is slender and indefinite; the steps of ratiocination faintly marked; the inferences vague and illogical. The book is adapted to perform in æsthetic circles the same work, which Hogan's coarse outpourings might do for the rabble, that is, to inflame prejudices against the Romish Church by a more summary, and with many a surer, process, than careful reasoning founded on a sufficiently definite and ample array of facts.

The appearance of D'Aubigné's fourth volume would present a suitable occasion for a somewhat extended notice of the portion of his great work now before the public; but this is aside from our present purpose. D'Aubigné has very great power of graphic narrative. He gives dramatic effect to every scene and combination of circumstances, which he describes; and by the artifice, (for which he has ample classical warrant,) of writing set speeches for his actors, he draws his readers with him into the vortex of controversy, and makes them listeners to those intense discussions and fierce debates, on which the religious destinies of the whole future hung. He understands perfectly the laws of historical perspective, and throws every incident and character into its due degree of light or shade. We can hardly overrate the artistical merit of the work, or admire to excess the air of almost romantic interest, which, without sacrifice of accurate and minute detail, he has thrown over a portion of history, on which writers have been wont to be dry and dull. There is also an epic unity in his narrative, as there must needs be in the events of any strongly marked historical period. The chief fault of the work is, that it takes too narrow a view of the causes and issues of the Protestant Reformation,—the view indeed, which might have been taken, and probably was taken by the actors themselves, but not that which presents

itself from the more elevated stand-point of the nineteenth century. D'Aubigné makes the establishment of the doctrine of Justification by Faith the great aim and end of the Reformation, whereas this was in fact only the initial expression and development of a principle of infinitely greater breadth and deeper significance. "The just shall live by faith," was indeed the *refrain* of the chorus at the end of every successive act, while Luther was on the stage; but to our ear it is almost lost, as it chimes in with the fuller, more comprehensive harmonies of the great redemption-song.

But our present design is not to give an extended review of the works before us, so much as to essay a brief answer to the question, — what is Protestantism?

The definition of terms is equally needed and neglected in every department, both of theoretical science and practical wisdom. The most common terms often grow indefinite from their very commonness. They come to have no meaning from the general presumption, that every one knows their meaning; and different persons employ them in every possible latitude or narrowness of signification, as they do the same algebraic signs to express quantities however large or small. Thus has the term, *Protestantism*, fared at the hands of Protestants; denoting sometimes the mere act or attitude of religious protest, sometimes a faith founded on Scripture, and not on tradition, then, a particular modification of assumed orthodoxy, then again, anti-Romanism under any form whatever. On the sense which we assign to the word depends the appropriateness of its continued use, as descriptive of one or more religious communities. If it be regarded as necessarily referring back to the events which gave rise to the term, then there is no longer any propriety in its use, except in those parts of the Church, where the attitude of protest against Romanism is still maintained, that is, where the religious life not only gravitates toward certain anti-Romish views of spiritual truth, but also consciously shapes itself by active antagonism to the Romish doctrines and polity. In this view the Prussian Government was right in prohibiting, in 1817, the farther official use of the word Protestant, and the High Church party in England ought to be sustained in the attempt to ignore the Protest of the fathers, which certainly

has not been maintained and embodied in the constitution of the English Church. But a term may become the fitting representative of ideas not involved in its etymology, or fully recognized in its original adoption ; and may be much better adapted, by the historical associations that cluster around it, to express those ideas, than a word coined or chosen subsequently for that sole purpose. This we conceive to be the case with the term, Protestantism ; and we now propose to define the fundamental idea which it conveys to our own mind, and to illustrate its application to some of the leading heads of Christian doctrine and ecclesiastical policy.

Two opposite tendencies may be traced in the Christian Church from its very infancy, — Spiritualism and Formalism ; and these two words may be regarded as the types of two great divisions of the Christian body, from the Apostolic age to the present time. That the former represents the tone of the New Testament, our readers can hardly need to see demonstrated. Our Saviour's teachings point to a purely spiritual worship, its seat in the self-consecrated soul, and to a spiritual morality, consisting not in outward precepts, but in principles so vast that, were they written out, the world could not contain the record, and so flexible as to adapt themselves to every possible posture of circumstances or demand upon human agency. The only forms attached by him to his religion can hardly bear the name, so purely incidental were they as to the outward circumstances of their origin, and so numerous and various are the modes, in which they can be observed with equal fidelity to the great Master. It is a significant fact, that the New Testament not only fails to prescribe any ecclesiastical organization or ritual, but gives only the most faint and shadowy glimpses of the constitution of the Apostolic Church. This Church some religionists profess indeed to describe with great minuteness ; but it is by a process like that, by which Cuvier was wont to reconstruct the skeleton of an extinct species from the inspection of a single bone, — with this important difference, however, that his analogies were based on admitted portions of the divine plan, while theirs are drawn from a "Catholic Tradition," in which one "must make believe a great deal," in order to trace any divine element. Had the actual form of the Apostolic

Church been preserved, even though its imitation had not been expressly enjoined, the piety of subsequent ages would have felt bound slavishly to copy it, without reference to the varying demands of time and place ; as was the case with regard to the number of deacons, of whom we find but seven in the Church of Rome, at a time when there were no less than forty presbyters. We cannot but think then, that Providence suffered the earliest Christian organizations to expire without record, on the same principle on which commentators say that God concealed the burial-place of Moses, lest the people might worship it. It was undoubtedly our Saviour's design, that his doctrines, precepts and spirit, connected with the two simple and variable rites of initiation and fellowship, should embody themselves from time to time in such modes of worship and administration, as might best suit the genius and meet the wants of every separate community of believers.

But the sources of the *formalistic* element were at hand, in the religions which Christianity was designed to displace. That element was largely represented in the Mosaic revelation, though there made, at the outset (and so expounded by the writers of the ancient canon) the vehicle of spiritual truth. But the vehicle had become empty, and the Mosaic law had long lost, except here and there in a single heart, its living and life-giving spirit. The smoke of the sacrifice still went up daily, the orchestra of the temple had lost none of the songs of Zion, and the Levites fulfilled their appointed courses as regularly as the heavens their circuits ; but to such vows and praises as reached the ear of Jehovah, the sacred courts had ceased to bear witness. Even the essential obligations of morality, such as reverence to parents, mercy to the poor, veracity under the most solemn sanctions, were set aside by processes of ritual jugglery, corresponding to those legal fictions, by which in modern times right and wrong are made to stand in each other's place. A Jew deemed himself devout, and looked for a favored seat in the Messiah's kingdom, not on account of any condition of heart or traits of character, by which he could either shew reverence to God or do good to man, but in proportion to the rigidity, minuteness and frequency of puerilities that might have disgraced the worship of any respectable form of idolatry. And those who shook

off the cumbrous vanities of the traditional law, instead of falling back upon patriarchal piety, rushed either into a selfish and heartless skepticism, or into an asceticism no less void of spirituality than the mummeries of Pharisaic devotion, though bearing marks of a sincerity well worthy of a more satisfying belief.

In the Pagan world all the sincere religion to be anywhere traced was formalism, and consisted either in the paltry and often immoral rites, by which worldly and sensual men compounded with the gods for the liberty of sinning, or in the austerities and penances, which men of a more serious and sad spirit inflicted on themselves to appease the wrath of malignant deities. Those who had emancipated themselves from the belief of the multitude, had settled down into a virtual Atheism, admitting for the most part the existence of some creative or pervading Spirit, but making his existence an inert fact as regards human obligation, — ascribing to him no attributes which either claimed worship or imposed duty towards him.

Such was the soil, on which the seed of the kingdom fell ; and, as it sprang up, an incessant miracle would have been needed to prevent the nascent plant from partaking of the qualities of the soil. We accordingly trace in the churches planted by the Apostles formalistic views of religion, diametrically opposed to the free spirit of the Gospel. This was the case much earlier among the Jewish than the Gentile converts ; for the former were chiefly from among those most arrant of all formalists, the Pharisees, who were attracted towards the new religion by the fancied accordance and nominal identity of its doctrine of the resurrection with their own. Those trained in Pharisaic notions could not conceive of a state of the affections, which might be in itself an adequate ground for the Divine favor and a sufficient passport to heaven. "Justification by faith without the deeds of the law" was an idea beyond their scope. They therefore retained the routine of ritual observances as the substance of practical religion, and simply enlarged their range of speculative knowledge by such portions of Christian doctrine as they could understand and embrace. Thus was the Gospel wholly subordinated to the Law and the Prophets, and regarded, not as a new system, but as a hopeful graft on the old stock of Judaism. Peter evident-

ly, at the commencement of his Apostolic career, leaned very decidedly towards this narrow, partial view of his Master's mission and religion ; and would, no doubt, have given wholly into it, had it not been for the vision of the unclean beasts and the indignant remonstrances of the great Apostle to the Gentiles. Stephen, on the other hand, seems to have derived from his Hellenistic culture a greater freedom of spirit, and to have been prepared to take higher and more intimate views of the nature and purpose of Christianity ; but this we gather only from his death-speech, and his influence could not have been sensibly felt in antagonism to the Judaizing tendencies of the Church. It was reserved for one who "was consenting unto his death," fully to vindicate the independence of pure, spiritual Christianity on ritual obedience. Paul was the earliest Christian Protestant, and that, as we shall see, in virtually the same cause in which the Reformers of the sixteenth century won that name. His Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians were the means under Providence, by which Christianity was cut out of the Jewish stock, and so planted as to strike down its own separate root, and to blossom with a verdure all its own for the healing of the nations. Had not he been raised up when he was, and divinely commissioned as the chief apostle of spiritual freedom, the Christians would have been a mere sect of reformed Jews, without vitality enough to retain their vantage-ground in point of doctrine and morals for more than a single generation. His protest, however, was feebly and coldly seconded among his own countrymen ; but it so defined Christianity by distinctive marks of spirituality and of independence on the paraphernalia, whether of ritual or organization, as to drive constantly increasing numbers of Judaizing Christians back into the synagogue, and to circumscribe and early to obliterate the type of pseudo-Christianity, which they represented.

Among the Gentiles, the more skeptical portion, with minds not preoccupied by other forms of faith, and with a more active and liberal curiosity than the *bona fide* idolators around them, furnished many of the earliest converts to the new religion. But no sooner were its attractiveness and power extensively seen, than it won the easy faith and ready homage of multitudes that believed in the gods, and



especially of those who had felt their moral needs and infirmities, and sought in vain for relief. And as they flocked into the Christian fold, though they had vague notions of the spiritual nature of the Gospel, they could not disabuse themselves of the necessity of a fixed and complex religious ceremonial. They knew not how to come to God except in a temple made with hands, or to express sentiments of adoration and submission except by the posture or movement of the body, or by formal offerings at the shrine of devotion. They therefore transferred to the Christian worship many portions of their temple ritual, *mutatis mutandis*, and dressed up the table, which, without sign or image, had borne the simple elements of the sacramental feast, with all the trappings of their forsaken altars. This process went on the more rapidly, from the natural desire of converts to make their religion appear as inviting as possible to the unconverted. Its destitution of outward form was at first an objection commonly urged as decisive against Christianity. Its disciples therefore felt that they had gained much for its honor, when they could say to the worshippers of Jupiter or Minerva, — ‘Behold our shrines as richly adorned as yours; see our priests in as gorgeous vestments as may be seen on the steps of the Capitol; and the incense of our sacrifice, has it not even gained fragrance, now that the smoke of burning flesh no longer taints it?’

Thus did the *form* of godliness constantly mount towards the ascendant, while its power was rapidly dying out of the heart of the Church. Yet there still remained doctrines, transmitted in the very words of Christ, that were too spiritual in their obvious import, to be easily tortured into any material form of representation and expression. Such were the necessity of inward regeneration, God’s pardon to the guilty on the sole condition of penitence, and the mission of the Redeemer to reconcile erring man in heart and character to a God, whose mercy needs no propitiation to render it perfect. So long as these doctrines remained, unperverted, professed Christians could not acquiesce with easy consciences in their new idolatry. They thought their pompous ritual needful and acceptable; but felt that this was not all, — that there was a heart-service requisite, to render the worship of lip and posture availing. Yet

Christianity was so overloaded with pompous and exacting externals, as to render the route to this heart-service to the last degree obscure and difficult of access. But formalism had not done its whole work, till it had transmuted by its petrifying touch the doctrines of regeneration, pardon and atonement. Regeneration was accordingly identified with baptism; and the sinner was taught, that if he only dared to postpone baptism till the death-agony, he might lead a life of violence, fraud or licentiousness, might drink his fill of all the pleasures and the gains of sin, and then by the cross of a priest's wet finger on his brow become as pure and innocent as when he first lay in his mother's bosom. Penitence was next transmuted into penance, — compliance with the mandate of the priest instead of the outpouring of a lowly heart; and then pardon was made to depend on the balance, adjusted by artificial rules, between willing and cherished sins and senseless self-torturings; which a farther exercise of ingenuity, seconded by priestly avarice, easily commuted into fines. Atonement admitted of no such transmutation. The sense of alienation from God, of the discrepancy between a holy Father and his sinful child, adhered so closely to the hearts of the unreconciled, that they could neither have it washed off by a priest's hands, nor scourged away by their own, nor yet could uncounted wealth furnish a redemption-price for it. The atonement, therefore, was banished from the individual heart, and thrown wholly back upon Calvary, as a past fact in the history of the race, needing neither to be repeated nor appropriated. And, for the still more perfect easement of burdened consciences, the parties in the transaction were shifted, — it was God, who needed reconciliation, — the atonement was wholly Heaven's affair, and man might rest assured that the entire work had been wrought for him and without him. Thus were all the great doctrines of the Gospel, while nominally retained, thrust out of the region of the sentiments and affections, and resolved either into forms to be outwardly observed or into technical arrangements between God and Jesus Christ. At this stage of corruption all curiosity and anxiety with regard to religion were suspended; rites, which were all in all, could be best learned by imitation; and the Scriptures were consigned to general neglect and oblivion. When the people had once

thrown away "the key of knowledge," their religious leaders were of course solicitous to keep it out of their hands, and unwilling to restore it; but, had the people of Christendom in general felt any lingering interest in the sacred records, it would have been beyond the combined power of the priesthood to suppress their free transcription and general use, so that the fact of their disuse is to be taken as indicating the previous existence of a state of religious belief and practice, which made them superfluous.

Such was the condition of things for centuries before the appearance of Luther upon the stage. The motto of the Catholic Church might well have been, 'The kingdom of God is meat and drink, [tithe and penance, chant and litany,] not righteousness, and peace, and joy in the holy spirit.' The work set before Christian reformers was, to reverse all this, and to write upon the constitution of the Church and the hearts of its children the true motto, as it came from the pen of the Apostle. The protest of the sixteenth century was, then, against formalism, and in behalf of spiritualism. It adopted "justification by faith" as its watchword, not because that phrase embodied the whole or the chief of the points in controversy, but because it involved the issue that must needs be tried first in the order of time. The people of Christendom in general were reposing an undoubting confidence in God and hope of heaven, on the ground of a ceremonial as heartless as might be enacted in a well trained menagerie; and the first thing of which they needed to be convinced was, that justification or salvation depended on something inward and spiritual, on the state of the affections, in fine, on *faith*, which one word stood as the Scriptural formula for all right dispositions and feelings towards God, as its converse, *works*, did for all that was outward and mechanical. Until this point was settled in the affirmative, the questions of the authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures, the right of private judgment, the qualifications, duties and functions of ministers or members of the Church, the place and use of ordinances, were all necessarily in abeyance; for these are questions, the very asking of which implies a conscious responsibility for the culture of one's own mind and heart, or in other words a personal appropriation of the doctrine of justification by faith. All these and similar

issues are involved in the great Protestant question, and one or another will come up with more or less prominence, at different periods and in different countries, according to the predominant type of formalism to be opposed. Thus faith will be set forth as the antagonist to ceremonial mummerly, Scriptural authority to tradition, the paramount importance of a Christian spirit to the imposition of human creeds, and the spiritual freedom of all believers to the assumption of official sanctity and supremacy by the priesthood.

Following up this view, we might trace the history of Protestantism; but it would be the history of a work in every part unfinished, — of numerous branches of the great protest urged on the part of reformers, but of none acceded to by the mother Church, and of few, as to which different bodies of Protestants are not divided against each other. But it may be equally profitable for us at the present time, and will fall more easily within the few remaining pages which we can occupy upon the subject, to inquire what peculiar obligations rest on us as Protestants, or in other words, against what manifestations of formalism we are chiefly to contend. But let it here be remarked, that Protestants must agree in their protest, before they can expect it to be generally received by the Romish Church. Protestant Leagues and Anti-Catholic Alliances of mere fragments of the reformed churches serve only to bring into view the weakness and intestine feuds of the Protestant body, and lead multitudes to prefer the dead cohesiveness of Romanism to the porcupine vitality of its disintegrated foes. Protestants must protest against each other, until formalism is utterly driven from their own borders, — until they all come into “the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,” and are able to present an unbroken front against papacy, prelacy, and whatever else may interpose itself between the individual soul and its God.

In looking at the work yet to be done by Protestants, we meet at the threshold with the great doctrine of “justification by faith” still unestablished. In many Protestant denominations, and probably by some members of all, rites are regarded as possessing an efficacy independent of that which belongs to them as the aids of devotion, — as having some inherent and mysterious virtue, apart from the dispositions of mind with which they are used. Thus the

Baptist, while he will not in so many words identify immersion and regeneration, evidently attaches to that particular mode of baptism an efficacy not ascribed to an equally conscientious and prayerful self-consecration in any other form. The High Churchman, while he admits that Dissenters may be "saved as by fire," ascribes to the use of the liturgy and rubrics of his Church an effect upon a man's position before God entirely independent of his character, and vastly exceeding that which would result from his entertaining the same holy thoughts and passing through the same spiritual exercises in any other form. The Oxford party in the Church of England evidently go farther, and make the question of a man's salvation depend upon his passing into eternity suitably ticketed and labelled by an accredited priest, and their only salvo in behalf of spiritual religion is, that the ticket and the label can hardly fail in some mysterious way to affect the character, unless the man be a very unfeeling wretch indeed, in which latter case, however, we cannot ascertain that the golden gates are closed to him. Now, it is extremely dangerous to one's spiritual well-being, for him to be led to place strong dependence on anything except character. Whatever new weight is cast on the side of forms, is taken from that of spirituality. Whatever trust men are led to repose on the perfunctory discharge of a ritual, by so much the less will they feel the obligation of personal holiness. But by attaching supreme importance to character, men are not on the other hand made indifferent to religious forms; for these, like all details of the outward life, will be under the law of the spirit, will be chosen by an active and discriminating conscience, and observed for the good that they may do. Meanwhile, all dependence on forms is opposed to the genius of Protestantism, and subversive of its mission. Formalism can no more cast out formalism, than Satan can cast out Satan. The appetite for forms, like that for holiness, grows by what it feeds on; and the formalistic element, so far as it is still cherished among denominations called Protestant, is every year furnishing the Romish ranks with their most vigorous and zealous recruits.

Artificial creeds are also opposed to the true spirit of Protestantism. Its essence is individual responsibility to God and perfect mutual independence. Each must be jus-

tified by his own faith, not by his neighbor's, — by a faith resulting from the free action of his own mind and the spontaneous movement of his own affections. The words of teachers who have enjoyed miraculous communications from Heaven, must of course be received as containing truth, and only truth, by all who admit their inspiration ; and to the authority of such words the most manly reason bends in humble reverence, taking counsel from them as from the oracles of God. But for fallible men in any Protestant denomination to impose upon each other formularies of their own device, interpretations grounded on their own authority, inferences confessedly not capable of being expressed in the words of inspired teachers, exceeds a hundred-fold the arrogance of the Romish Church, which founds its claim to enact articles of faith on the pretence of perpetual inspiration. On no ground short of this has any Church a right to set up its own standards as the measure of Christian discipleship. Creeds are simply a sort of intellectual formalism, adapted to content the mind with a lazy consciousness of orthodoxy, which leads one to remit the culture of the affections, and to neglect applying to himself any true test of character. We indeed doubt the possibility of expressing the truths of the Gospel in such a form that they can be numbered and catalogued. They are at once too vast and too flexible, to be adequately written out in any unvarying form of words. Even were those words to be taken from Scripture and from our Saviour's own lips, no one passage, however definite and full, would express all that we understand and receive in any particular doctrine. A truth of our religion will come up to the devout mind now in one form, and then in another, sometimes in its most epigrammatic statement, sometimes as the moral of a parable, and, oftenest of all, as drawn out and manifested in the Master's own life. And were the sincere disciple to write out in his own words his sentiment as to any article of Christian faith, his forms of expression would vary widely from time to time, according to his degree of progress and his state of feeling on collateral subjects. Were the Bible a divinely sanctioned treatise on theology, logically arranged and divided, it would lose half its worth. While it might nominally contain all that it now does, it would impart incomparably less ; for it would deprive its

reader of his free range through its rich diversity of grand and beautiful thought and imagery, and of his privilege of varying his avenue of communication with the divine word according as the ever varying affinities of his own mind and heart might dictate. The individual soul can freely wait on the word and spirit of God, only by being made independent of all human dictation as to its belief. There may indeed lawfully be a grouping of such disciples as agree in the main, in respect to those forms of coöperation and mutual edification which presuppose a general identity of opinion; but ecclesiastical organizations should be regarded as conventional, and not authoritative, and should be bound together, not by the exercise of inquisitorial jurisdiction over each other's faith, but by the willingness to employ similar means in the pursuit of common ends. Creeds never imprison a free or strong mind; but they do often push such a mind to skepticism. Many have sought liberty out of the Church, because in the Church they could be only "the servants of man," and not "the Lord's freemen." And our creed-imposing and creed-loving brethren, however they may denounce the Romanists, are nursing Rome's most prolific heresy, — that, by which she has for ages "made merchandise of the souls of men."

On the subject of the Christian priesthood Protestantism has as yet given only vague and timid utterances. We doubt whether more than a small minority of Protestants maintain on this subject a theory to be compared with that of the Romanists in point of consistency and reasonableness. The Romish Church maintains unblushingly, that all that constitutes a Christian minister may be transmitted through the fingers' ends of any bishop connected with St. Peter by a series of physical contacts between each succeeding head and each preceding right hand. It matters not, we are assured, how many idiot heads or homicidal hands have had place in the series; they were true priests, though devils, — they could convey the divine pardon, though they had sinned beyond the reach of it, — they could pray souls out of purgatory, though themselves not worthy to "escape the damnation of hell." The sacerdotal office thus resolves itself into a divinely appointed formality, by means of which, without reference to the moral character of the agent, certain essential favors may

be procured of God. The priest stands on precisely the same footing with the wafer, the crucifix, or the casket of relics; his only power is mysterious, supernatural, talismanic. His office is to get souls into heaven, by a legerdemain in which he is the Divinely appointed performer. This ground is intelligible and tangible. Its advocates are frank and honest in maintaining it, and every link of their chain of argument is open to the trial of Protestant strength. The English Puseyites occupy substantially the same ground, except that they have to draw largely on their own credulity and that of their disciples, in establishing a canonical union between the Romish line of succession and their own. But how have Protestants met these pretensions? For the most part, by setting up like pretensions on their own account. The necessity of a canonical succession, (whether Episcopal or Presbyterian,) and of the imposition of clerical hands in ordination, has been admitted, nay, contended for, by most Protestant denominations; and few even of the descendants of the Puritan pilgrims are prepared to maintain with them, that the ministerial office grows out of the choice of people, who, having the greater right of election, are not to be defrauded of the lesser right of consecration. The office derives in the eyes of the ignorant such a *prestige* from the idea of Apostolic descent, that those who ought to have scorned the slightest sacrifice to popular superstition of any kind, have lent their aid to prolong the delusion.

It would be difficult for any Protestant, not committed to a foregone conclusion, to satisfy himself with the integrity of sacerdotal succession through the dark ages, down to the time when the Protestant churches separated themselves from the Romish, taking with them, as it contended, the sacramental virtue in the persons of their clergy. For centuries, children, dolts and drunkards were often bishops and archbishops; and is it conceivable that all necessary forms were always observed, while the administration was committed to such unworthy hands? But if it be admitted that in every instance of this kind there was only a faint probability of such informality as to vitiate pretended ordination, the multitude of such cases swells this probability almost into an absolute certainty, which we should need an express revelation to gainsay. For a Protestant,



however, the only question should be, — Is the ministerial office physical or spiritual in its character and functions? If physical, then may its essence ooze from the fingers' ends of any man or boy, upon whose head it has happened to fall. But if spiritual, how can it be imparted by a rite? Nay, how can it have ever resided in unspiritual men? In the age immediately preceding Luther's, there were very few of the Catholic clergy, who can be deemed to have been possessed of any spiritual gift. Their characters and teachings were unchristian and antichristian. Can they have imparted what they had never received? Can they, who were in no sense ministers of the Gospel, have qualified others to be what they were not? Yet all the ordination which the early Reformers had, was at their hands. Was it, we then ask, was it that solemn farce of ordination by ignorant or profane bishops, that authorized the heads of the Reformation, after they had emerged into Gospel light, to preach the truth of Christ and administer his ordinances? Had no bishop's hand ever been laid upon their heads, would their fitness for the clerical office have been less perfect, so that, had their conversion preceded their ordination, they could have borne no official relation towards their fellow-converts? Obviously, the Reformers were fitted for the ministry of the word only by their self-consecration, and by the demand of the people for their services. And if the ministry be a spiritual office, these must in every instance be the only, and the sufficient, qualifications. First of all, there must be self-consecration; for the work is to be wrought on the minds and hearts of men, and how shall the minister impart holy thought and feeling, if not from his own fulness, — how kindle in other souls the fire not already burning in his own? Then his services must be sought and desired by those to whom he ministers, — he must be elected as their spiritual guide, as the leader of their devotions, as the official head of their religious organization. His self-consecration and their choice are transactions of deep spiritual significance and solemnity, and may therefore most appropriately be marked by peculiar religious services, in which, unless it has been too grossly desecrated to be worth retaining, the simple and impressive Apostolic rite of "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery" may not unfitly bear a prominent part.

But these services only *recognize* the minister, — they do not make him a minister. They give publicity to the people's choice ; but they confer on him no rights additional to those given by that choice.

In fine, — for we need not enter into farther specification, though abundant materials lie around us, — it is the mission of Protestantism, in every department of Christian organization, worship and life, to subordinate the form to the spirit of piety. It wages war not with forms, but with formalism. It recognizes the worth of the outward "beauty of holiness" as an aid in cherishing the inward sentiment of devotion. But it would leave every body of Christians, and every individual, to seek out such forms as, under the culture and existing circumstances of each, may best promote edification and progress, assured that under a wide diversity of administration the same spirit may only be the more fully developed and the more fervently enjoyed. We deprecate the growth of Romanism, and should rejoice to see a purer faith making rapid aggressions upon its borders. But we have no hope of this, until Protestants (so called) are emancipated from formalism, and manifest in all their separate communities "the glorious liberty of the sons of God." Until then, the formal, technical Christians of every denomination will neutralize the influence and efforts of those who receive the Gospel as an inward life and power. We therefore rejoice in the quaking and disruption of every existing form of Protestant hierarchy, — of every organization, which has interposed its mandates between God and the individual conscience. These thrones are cast down, that the Ancient of days may sit, and the kingdom be given into his hands. A. P. F.

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#### ART. II. — FOX'S HISTORY OF DUNSTABLE.\*

READING Mr. Fox's faithful and interesting history of the old township of Dunstable, we cannot but recognize in the narrative a miniature sketch of the changes, that have

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\* *History of the Old Township of Dunstable : including Nashua, Nashua, Hollis, Hudson, Litchfield and Merrimac, N. H. ; Dunstable and Tyngsborough, Mass.* By CHARLES J. FOX. Nashua : 1846. 8vo.

been going on in our New England for nearly two centuries. The first grants of land were made in 1665 ; and in 1674 the township, having received a charter from the General Court at Boston the previous year, took the name of Dunstable in compliment to the wife of Hon. Edward Tyng, who came from Dunstable, England. It embraced originally a tract of land of probably more than two hundred square miles, and formed a part of the county of Middlesex. Since then six whole towns have been formed from this territory, and nine other towns have received portions of its ample domain ; two of the former and two of the latter being now in Massachusetts, and the remainder in New Hampshire.

In looking at Nashua, the ancient centre of the old township, in connection with subsequent changes, we see at once the difference between the sources of wealth in the days of our fathers and the present. Farming was the great dependence then, and the village owed its rise to its central position in the most promising farming region. The church with its tall spire seemed like a votive temple, pointing up to heaven towards the Lord of the harvests in gratitude for the fruit of the fields. Now all is changed ; the population has crowded to the banks of the river, whose falling water is found to possess such vast power, and the main dependence of the people is on manufactures instead of agriculture. How much startled one of the fathers of good old Dunstable would be, if restored by some miracle to the earth, and allowed to see the transformations of the vicinity ! The stately factories on the banks of the Nashua would prove to him how signally the sceptre has passed from the plough to the spindle ; the whistling locomotives, bearing now large companies of travellers and now huge burdens of merchandise, would well illustrate the progress of the arts and the facilities of communication ; the eight churches, on either side of the river, would exhibit in their various names the singular vicissitudes of New England theology since the days of the Puritans, when the charter of the township was granted on condition that a minister should be settled within three years, and when no man could doubt of what stamp the minister should be.

The valley of the Merrimac, upon which Dunstable stood, has been distinguished in the history of New Eng-

land, and, in fact, of our whole country. Who shall tell the number of distinguished men who have been reared upon its farms, and gone forth to their energetic labors in every quarter of our Union? Who can compute the amount of wealth that has been gathered from its waters, once in valuable fisheries, and recently in vast manufactures? Who shall predict the future, or say what Manchester and Lowell and Andover shall be, or what new sites of industry shall spring up along these beautiful banks? We have no fear of destroying the romance of the stream by such questions, for that is impossible. Nothing can destroy the sublimity of the mountains in which it takes its rise, nor the beauty of the broad lake which pours its waters into its current. Fair river! emblem of what true life is, — sublimity and beauty at the fountain-head — fertility and industry along the course — with strength gathered from its very falls.

Such thoughts as these naturally present themselves to the reader in view of the history before us. Yet other thoughts throng more readily into our mind as we look upon this book. It bears upon its title-page the name of one now no more in the world — a man highly gifted and much loved — to the community a benefactor — of the church an earnest disciple and faithful helper — to us a most cherished friend. This work, written for the most part several years since, was revised during the declining health of the author, and did not pass through the press until after his decease. The wide and warm reception, with which it has been met by all classes of the author's fellow-citizens, proves the estimation in which he was held. We have thought that the opportunity of recognizing his high worth should not be slighted. He was an earnest reader of our journal, and we doubt if any young layman could be named, whose life has been more devotedly attached to the great principles of which its pages have been the organ.

Every one who has visited Nashua, (the most populous portion of old Dunstable, and recently divided into Nashua and Nashville,) has of course noticed the beautiful church embosomed in an exuberant grove on the river's bank. None of our brethren, who have preached there of late years, can have failed to be acquainted with the character

of the worshipper in that temple, whose name is now brought before us. None who have listened to his discriminating and earnest conversation, and seen the evidence of his pure example, will fail to visit the shaded cemetery where his remains repose, and look with tenderness upon the green sod and the violets that mark his resting-place. He loved to seek out the first flowers of spring ; and many a time have we hunted the fields in company with him, to find the earliest specimens of that first and fragrant vernal flower, the trailing arbutus. Fitly these flowers bloom upon his grave.

Mr. Fox was born in the town of Hancock, N. H., October 11, 1811. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1831, entered immediately upon the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in September, 1834. The last year of his preparation for his profession was passed at Nashua in the office of Hon. Daniel Abbot, with whom he became associated in business. For nine years he labored in his vocation with rare diligence, and in addition to large professional engagements he availed himself of every opportunity to further the public good. Short as was his active career when measured by years, it was long when measured by the amount of results achieved.

His name is connected with all the recent public improvements in the State of New Hampshire. He was an earnest friend of popular education, and employed his pen and voice assiduously in its behalf. The noble Asylum for the Insane at Concord owes as much to him for its successful establishment as to any man in the State. He was much interested in the condition of criminals and the modes of treating them ; and availed himself of his experience as County Solicitor to collect facts upon prison-discipline, and especially to urge the importance of providing appropriate places for juvenile offenders, apart from the society of men hardened in crime. Nor was he indifferent towards public enterprises of a more external character. The first rail-road in the State was indebted much to him for zeal in removing obstacles to its completion, and fidelity in discharging the duty of one of the most important of its offices.

In the year 1840 he prepared the history of Dunstable, and in November of the same year he was called by an Act

of the Legislature of New Hampshire to a far more arduous task — that of revising the laws of the State. In connection with Chief Justice Joel Parker and Samuel D. Bell Esq., he was intrusted with this important commission in a manner highly honorable to one of his age. Judge Parker being prevented by his professional labors from taking more than an advisory share in the work, the burden fell upon the two junior Commissioners. Mr. Fox performed his portion of the task with a faithfulness and ability which every page of the Revised Code witnesses, and which, alas! was ere long to have a sadder witness in his own impaired health.

Whilst this important enterprise was going on, he undertook, in connection with the clergyman, then minister of the Unitarian church at Nashua, the compilation of the "New Hampshire Book," which was intended to give specimens of the native literature of that State, so affluent in distinguished minds, and to save from forgetfulness not a few names that were fast passing from memory. Mr. Fox showed great research in the materials which he furnished for this volume, and, by the labor bestowed upon it, gave new evidence of that love for his native State which was so prominent a feature of his character. It was published in 1842.

The revision of the Code of Laws was completed in March 1843. Instead of resting from studies that had so long kept him from proper exercise, and chained him to his desk so often far into the night, he plunged anew into the regular engagements of his profession, and as attorney and County Solicitor undertook labors altogether beyond his strength. The sixteenth day of August, 1843, he was seized with the illness from which he never recovered. He was not willing to believe that the alarming symptoms were proof of pulmonary consumption, and was confident of finding relief in a change of climate. Nor was his own sanguine hope without encouragement from judicious physicians. He resolved to try the effect of the milder airs of the Mediterranean, and accordingly embarked in the *Stamboul* for a realm which had so long haunted his dreams. With what feelings he bade adieu to country and kindred, these lines, a portion of a poem written hastily at sea in October, 1843, indicate : —

Land of my birth ! my eyes are fondly turning,  
While onward glides our bark across the sea,  
With steadfast gaze, and anxious, deep soul-yearning,  
To catch a glimpse, another glimpse of thee !  
But vain the attempt, for, more and more receding  
Towards milder climes, a sick, sad exile now,  
From home and wife and child full fast I'm speeding ;  
Yet must I love thee still, though cold and stern art thou !

Farewell ! farewell ! How many a change of sadness,  
Ere I again return to thee, may come.  
But hope assures me, all shall meet in gladness —  
That God will still protect us and our home ; —  
That then the babe, now in his cradle sleeping,  
Will run with outstretched arms my face to see,  
And thou, my blessed wife, with pleasure weeping,  
Will welcome me once more restored to health and thee.

Father in heaven ! whose eye, unsleeping ever,  
Watches o'er all we love by sea and land,  
Suffer our hearts from thee to wander never,  
And keep us in the hollow of thy hand ;  
Then the long months of separation ended,  
Bring us together all in joy once more,  
And praises for thy mercy shall be blended  
With thanks for my return, my wanderings all o'er.

Stopping at Gibraltar and crossing over to Spain, our traveller then embarked for Egypt, and ascended to the cataracts of the Nile. He was a close observer of the wonders of the land of the pyramids. He travelled through it, Bible in hand, and wrote of his impressions : — “ I am reading the Old Testament in its connection with Egypt, and I am struck more and more every day with the coincidences between the Bible and the history of Egypt as derived from her ruins and her monuments.”

He spent several months breathing the delightful air, and studying the interesting ruins of that country, and then turned his face homeward by way of Malta, Italy, Switzerland, France and England. He was in London at the time of the poet Campbell's funeral, and none of those present in Westminster Abbey on that occasion could have felt more deeply the solemnity of the scene. He returned to his home, and found that all that he had prayed for had been realized in the health of his family.

The summer of 1844 passed away without bringing any essential change in his health, and he was induced to try the effects of another sea voyage and of a West India climate. In company with his wife, to whom he was married in June, 1840, he passed the winter at Santa Cruz, and returned in the spring of 1845, not essentially benefitted by the change. Another summer went by, and he lingered on in the same manner as before, with symptoms sometimes cheering and sometimes discouraging, but with no visible improvement. Not being encouraged to try another voyage, he prepared, not without hope, to pass the next winter amidst the comforts of home. Enjoying much and suffering much, passing from frequent hope to frequent despondency, yet never wholly cast down, and never giving up his habits of industry, he lived until February, and on the seventeenth of that month, aware of his approaching dissolution, he calmly resigned his spirit to the God who gave it. He died, aged 34.

In what mood he had been wont to regard the ways of Divine Providence, and to meditate upon death, the following lines — beautiful, we think them — written the month before his death, show : —

‘ Oh, for some special providence !  
Oh, for some miracle ! ’  
Thus cry our ingrate hearts, nor feel,  
Thou, Father, lov’st us well :  
Thou givest the seasons in their course,  
The rain and sweet sunshine ;  
And air and food and light and life  
Are constant gifts of thine.

When health is bounding in each vein  
And vigor nerves each limb,  
On the praise-altar of our hearts  
How soon the fire grows dim.  
But when come sickness and distress,  
And human aid is vain,  
At once we light the incense cup,  
And kneel to God again.

When all the friends we love the most  
Return our heart’s caress,  
And life is full of joy, and hope ; —  
Then we forget to bless :



But if some loved one pines, and death  
Seems hovering in the air,  
Oh! how we wrestle for his life,  
With fasting and with prayer.

When fortune wears a smiling face,  
And all is sunny-hued,  
When all around we see no cloud; —  
How weak our gratitude:  
But if misfortune's storm beats fierce  
On our devoted breasts,  
We strive until by penitence  
God's rainbow on us rests.

'T is ever thus; — God's daily gifts  
Wake but a feeble lay;  
We feel not, know not how to prize,  
Till they have passed away:  
Then, then too late, we see heaven's glow  
Upon their upward track;  
And know that angels have been here,  
And try to hold them back.

Lord! if thou wert not perfect love,  
How could we be forgiven?  
Scarce greater sin was his who fell,  
The morning star, from heaven!  
Keep us from such ingratitude,  
While pilgrims here we roam,  
Till thou shalt send thine angel down,  
To guide our spirits home.

Mr. Fox's characteristic traits appeared very prominently in his conversation, the day previous to his decease. He was always remarkably truthful in his words, and cautious of employing exaggerated language; and although he declared to his pastor, Rev. S. G. Bulfinch, that he confided fully in the will of God and that his heart was at peace, he confessed it might be too strong an expression for him to say that he was fully resigned, so many and so strong were his attachments to life, and his motives for exertion. Now that he has gone from us, this and the other principal features of his character stand out in bold relief.

In respect to intellectual qualities, he was remarkable for accuracy and comprehensiveness. He was a very close

critic — a most patient collector of facts and observer of events. His mind, moreover, tended earnestly towards general principles, and if at times his generalizations were formed somewhat hastily from his data, it was more from his love for a favorite theory, than from negligence in regard to the details. He was a man of extensive learning, alike in legal lore and in elegant literature. Few young men were better versed in the old English poets than he; few were more eager readers of the best productions of our own time, whether in history, criticism, poetry, or philosophy.

He had much sentiment. Few persons possess more love of nature, especially in its religious aspects, than he. His poems — and he has left not a few — exhibit this trait signally. His fancy moved most readily at the bidding of moral or religious feeling.

In principle he was strictly conscientious and faithful. Notwithstanding a strong constitutional reserve, he could be affable, winning, and at times brilliant in conversation. His social qualities appeared to far greater advantage in the intercourse of intimate friendship, than in more general society. He was a devoted friend, and one who stood always ready to impart a wholesome truth, however little it might flatter the receiver's vanity. By temperament he was somewhat nervous and sensitive, more patient of labor than of opposition. In nothing was the influence of his illness more visible, than in his increased equanimity, and above all in his calm and benignant temper under the countless questionings and intrusions that are so annoying to most invalids. His will, however, never lost its manly firmness. He was an earnest worker to the last. On the verge of the grave he was engaged upon a series of religious poems, superintending the publication of a history, and preparing a volume of poetical selections for the especial use and consolation of sufferers like himself.

His religious convictions were very decided, and he expressed them openly at the baptismal font and at the table of communion. He was for years the earnest teacher of a class of youths of advanced age in the Sunday school, and after they left the school for various spheres of action, he watched over their course with great interest, and took much pleasure in their success. So far as we are acquaint-

ed with their subsequent career, a blessing has followed them. A short time since, we took great satisfaction in hearing from two West Point cadets a cordial acknowledgement of his kindness in instructing them in religion during their earlier years.

His faith in Christ was strong, alike in Christ as the teacher of truth, the exemplar of holiness, and the chosen Messiah sent upon a mission confirmed by miracles. In a series of poems called "Christmas Musings" he has left one upon the resurrection of Christ, which illustrates well the ground of his confidence in him. These lines form a portion of it :

"He is not here, but is risen."—Luke xxiv. 6.

Yes, Christ is risen ! But though from earth  
And mortal sight his form departs,  
His spirit comes with each new birth,  
To dwell forever in our hearts.

How clear his promise in our gloom, —  
"I will be with you to the end ;" —  
For life would seem one scene of doom  
Without his presence as a friend.

But dearer far the promise given, —  
"Where I am ye shall also be ;" —  
For this assures our souls a heaven  
Of bliss and immortality.

In every sorrow, every pain,  
Each trial of our pilgrim lot ;  
When human love and aid are vain,  
And broods within despairing thought ; —

How sweet to know that even here  
We now may lean upon his breast,  
And feel the blessed Comforter  
Hush every grief and fear to rest.

But sweeter far to feel, to know,  
That in the better world above  
There is no fear, no pain, no woe,  
For all is perfect peace and love.

Yes, Christ is risen ! He sought the skies  
A mansion for us to provide ;  
For like him, "we again shall rise,"  
And he shall come to be our guide.

What his spiritual philosophy was, will appear from this passage of a letter to a friend on the death of a beloved child, urging the doctrine of the constant presence of the loved and the value of spiritual communion : —

“ And if this be so, if Heaven, and all we love or have loved, are with us, and ever and everywhere, what a glorious, boundless world is opened to the heart and eye of faith !

I may be visionary, for I am apt to reason more from the inspiration of the heart than the deliberations of the understanding, but I would not exchange my faith, visionary though it be, for all the logical deductions of the schoolmen. It may not be jury evidence and professor's logic, but I believe in a higher than the head and the senses, and that truth has its sure “ witness in the spirit.” I need not point out its accordance with your spiritual philosophy, nor its joyous conclusions. The Mandan mother sits at evening by the grave of her child, and leaves its food, and sings its own best loved songs, and believes its spirit still lingers around all it loved here. And she is wiser and better than the self-styled Christian mother, who lays it in the grave and believes that it slumbers there unconsciously, with all the ties sundered which bound it to earth. Oh, how does our material philosophy create a material God, and heaven, and spirits, blinding the eye and chilling the heart to the spiritual nature and loveliness of Christianity ! Doubly precious to you must be *your* faith in an hour of sorrow like this.”

We have quoted considerably from Mr. Fox's poems, because in these he expressed his heart most freely, and in them his early visions seem to have revived with their former vividness, and with new depth and spirituality. In a poem written during his twenty-fifth year, he appears to have felt the incongruity between the Muses and the Law:—

#### ADIEU TO POESY.

Gone are those glorious visions all,  
That o'er my boyish eyes  
Came thronging bright and beautiful,  
As shapes of Paradise ;  
Filling this earth with loveliness  
And rainbow colorings,  
And sounds of mirth and melody,  
And bright and winged things !  
  
Oh, how I loved to roam alone  
At summer's eventide,  
Rapt with such witching phantasies  
Floating on every side,

And dreaming of old bards and sages,  
And wild romance, and how  
Poesy might even twine her wreath  
Of laurel round my brow!

Vain dreams, yet bright and blessed ones!  
Like youth's ecstatic glow,  
Before life's stern realities  
Ye vanished long ago!  
For Law, cold mistress of my fate,  
Deems such wild dreamings wrong,  
And spurns each luckless votary  
Of poesy and song.

But notwithstanding this farewell, poesy did not long leave him, but came back with new inspiration, when suffering led him to a deeper peace and to more earnest contemplation of that spiritual world where only the soul finds its ideal. It is very interesting, to see the fondness with which this laborious and practical lawyer turned at the close of life to the beautiful tastes of his youth, and cheered his declining days with thoughts that were at once "redolent of joy and youth," and of piety and maturity. It reminds us of one of those autumnal days when the air and the sky seem vernal, and the breeze comes to us laden at once with the freshness of spring and the fragrance of the ripened fruits, and we need to look some time upon the falling leaves to be assured that winter, with its cold, white shroud, is so near.

Mr. Fox, in addition to many fugitive poems and to his series of "Christmas Musings," appears to have had in mind a series of pieces upon national topics, — not indeed upon party questions, but on principles and duties of a broadly patriotic character. He had much of that quality which is so often talked of and so little realized — patriotism. He loved his country ardently, and entertained the most sanguine anticipations of its destiny. His observation in Europe, especially his closer acquaintance with the English government, moderated somewhat the exclusive partiality with which he was accustomed to regard the United States, and abated somewhat the strong prejudices which he had imbibed from his education in the Jeffersonian school. Yet he returned home confirmed in his love for republican institutions, and in the poems alluded to, he seems to have

desired to give prominence to the most important duties and relations of republican citizens. Whether the theme be the "Honest Voter" or the "Farmer's Wife," he writes with great spirit and point. This little collection of national lyrics ought not to be kept from the light.

In speaking of his foreign experience, let us remember that he always looked most earnestly to the condition of the masses. In Europe, as at home, his sympathies were with the common lot. The armies and navies of England could not of course but act strongly upon his imagination, but his papers show that whilst he could appreciate the grandeur of such power and the might of British loyalty, he thought far more of the condition of the poor, and calculated with mathematical precision the fatal bearing of these vast armaments upon the daily bread of the English laborer. He was strong in his conviction of the worth of peace, and little disposed to echo eulogiums upon the war-spirit, whether from a royalist or democratic quarter. He was an active friend of the Temperance cause, although very cautious of identifying himself with all measures which zealots might favor. Capital punishment he thought opposed alike to the claims of humanity and of enlarged public policy.

He had been an earnest politician by principle rather than predilection. Coinciding in the chief points with the party so long predominant in his State, he had the confidence of his associates, and above all, their respect. He used his political influence rather to conciliate favor towards generous public institutions, than to aggrandize himself. He had no taste for political intrigue, and often expressed his aversion to the common practices of politicians. High as he stood in the estimation of his party, — so high that, had he continued in health, we are assured by the appointing power that he would have had a seat in the United States Senate ere this, — he maintained an independent position, and upon some topics of great moral importance, such as the question of Slavery, he held firmly to principles which his views of Christianity could not but teach. If he had possessed as decided gifts of voice as of composition, he would have stood second to no man in the State in respect to public influence. The influence which he possessed sprang from a recognition of his substantial worth. He was

not a man of loud professions or many words. He had a singular reserve, even in doing a favor for a friend. The only evidence that the favor had been done, was to be found in the thing itself, and not from his lips. He did not allow his left hand to know what his right hand did ; and if this reserve sometimes interfered with desirable social cordiality, it frequently deserved the name of the truest Christian charity. We remember while on a visit to Fall River, Mass., shortly after the great fire that laid the town in ashes, meeting with a mechanic, a sufferer by the fire, who asked us if we were acquainted with Charles J. Fox of Nashua ; and in reply to our affirmative answer he showed us a letter from him, written in the right of acquaintance at school, making pleasant references to school-boy days, and enclosing a handsome sum of money to be employed as the receiver might desire. This was true charity, and the way in which the man spoke of Mr. Fox proved his estimate of the deed. We discovered afterwards that not one of his own family knew of this act, so unostentatious was his benevolence.

We cannot close this hasty notice of a true and high-minded man, thus prematurely cut off in the midst of his usefulness, without stating two reflections that are suggested by the subject.

The first thought is in reference to the culpable neglect of health, into which so many of our most promising young men fall. The subject of these remarks was often warned of the suffering which he was bringing upon himself, but in vain. When his health seemed comparatively firm, he was urged again and again to be more careful as to his hours of exercise and repose, his manner of guarding himself against cold of body and over-excitement of brain. But mistaking the flush of mental enthusiasm for the glow of vigor, he went on in his course, until stricken down at once by a disease, the germs of which had long been gathering within his frame. In this course he was by no means alone. How many precious lives are lost every year in this same manner. The sound body is too often displaced from its proper connection with a sound mind. Our young men too frequently abridge their days in attempting to lengthen them, and by lack of a proper division of their time, and of giving the body its due, squander in feverish prodigality of

exertion the resources that might be carefully husbanded until three-score and ten years bring life to its natural limit. Nor is it always that such recklessness has the excuse of cares so pressing and trusts so important, as those which overburdened him who is the subject of this notice.

The other thought which urges itself upon us, is prompted by our sense of the great and worthy influence of Mr. Fox in his connection with Christian institutions. He was indeed a helper of the Christian Church and Ministry. Who can adequately estimate the efficiency of an able and exemplary young man in promoting the interests of religion, by taking an active and unassuming part in their behalf? If the young man adds the weight of professional standing to his moral influence, so much the better, and certainly no profession is capable of greater weight than that of the law. Would that in a larger number of instances our legal brethren would be active helpers to the Church and Ministry. We know that they are subject to many temptations and perplexities; we are aware of the peculiar tendency of their studies, and the intense competition in which they must engage. But taught by so many noble examples among young and old, from the bar as well as from the bench, are we not warranted in asking more sympathy and aid for the Christian Ministry from the legal profession? We speak this rather in gratitude for the kind cooperation exhibited by members of this profession, than in complaint for their remissness. We have known enough of the power of a high-minded lawyer in favoring the interests of religion, to move us to desire that such instances may be multiplied.

The late Edward O'Brien of Dublin, who in his devoted spirit and premature death reminds us of our deceased friend, in the excellent work which he has left upon the "*Lawyer, his Character and Rule of Holy Life*," has defined the profession thus:— "A lawyer is the servant of his fellow-men for the attainment of justice: in which definition is expressed both the lowliness and the dignity of his calling; the lowliness—in that he is servant of all, ever ready to assist as well the meanest as the loftiest; the dignity—in that the end whereto he serves has among things temporal no superior or equal. That justice should ever be contemned or trodden under foot, is a grief to God and



angels : how glorious then is his calling, whose work it is to prevent her fall or to raise her fallen ! Truly the lawyer, while the servant of earth, is the minister of Heaven ; while he labors for the good of his fellow-men, he works none other than the work of God." We deem it not irrelevant to quote these words as we close this notice of Charles J. Fox.

S. O.

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### ART. III. — THE AFRICAN RACE.

Among the natural divisions which separate various tribes and nations, we recognise three more general and comprehensive than any other. Cuvier, in seeking for a classification which shall include all the human varieties, resolves them at length into what he calls the fair or Caucasian, the yellow or Mongolian, and the black or Ethiopian. But we shall find that the Ethiopian is not necessarily nor uniformly black.\* Vary the terms a little, so as to make the classification assume no false position ; call these three varieties the Caucasian, the Indian, and the African ; and we have a division which is founded in nature. We will not assume that all the others can be resolved into these three, but these three evidently cannot be resolved into each other. Select individuals from each and compare them together, and we recognise mental and physical characteristics so strongly marked, and standing out with so much boldness, that they cannot be confounded. We shall see at once that the original *types* from which these three natures were impressed and indented, were essentially different.

The original causes of this difference cannot be clearly ascertained. That question would lead us at least a thousand years beyond the extreme limits of historical knowledge. But when we ask, *why* this diversity of races ? we derive an answer much more full and satisfactory. It is quite conceivable, that a single one of the races, instead of three, (or five, as the case may be,) should have peopled the

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\* The word Ethiopian, from *αἶθερ* to burn, and *ἔψις* the face, may denote almost any hue from light brown to perfect black.

earth, that the traveller should have met with no varieties of character beyond those of which the Caucasian is susceptible, and that men wherever produced should have worn the same features and attributes; but in such monotony, how wide were the departure from all analogies in the universe. A human nature which should present to view but one uniform surface, could not reveal all the grandeur and all the charms of that Divine Nature whose light might fall upon it. It is the glass with trilateral form, which brings out all the colors of the solar beams; and if human nature lacked one of its original varieties, the complement in the colors of the spectrum could never be filled up. Take any one of the races. Take the Caucasian, which has led the way in all modern improvement and civilization, and ask whether in all its history and its well-known features of character it ever did, or probably ever will, develop such a humanity as to exhibit the various graces and virtues in all-blending proportion and harmony. In the whole history of this race power has prevailed over gentleness, and in almost all its forms of worship and religion the Divine anger has gleamed fiercely in the foreground, while the Divine mercy has scarcely been apprehended in the shade. The nations of this division have been sufficiently active in asserting their rights and avenging their wrongs, but it is Mr. Burke's remark, that the good offices of kindness and civility which one of their nations has done towards another would not fill ten pages of history, though spun out with the wire-drawn amplification of a Guiccardini himself. The innate propensity of this race is, and ever was, to enterprise and fierce activity; and even when held or guided by justice, it has lacked the softer and more assuaging qualities of charity and mercy. It has furnished that *ground* of human nature, which has reflected the red rays—the fiercer colors, but the milder and sweeter ones have been wanting. Where is the race and people, by whom these softer and lovelier of the moral qualities shall be brought forth in their greatest perfection and lustre?

Let the eye glance for a moment over the peninsula of Africa. Mark its population. Its northern and north-western shores are skirted by a population of Moors and Arabs. Along the western and eastern shores there is a line of European settlements, but they have penetrated a little way

only into its deserts and mountains. The north-western portion, or Egypt, is held by the Coptic race — the degenerate sons of great and glorious ancestors. All else — the whole interior, is occupied for the most part by a pure African population. It comprises at least fifty millions, radiating everywhere from the inland regions till coming in contact with foreign settlements at the surrounding shores. It is a race which we cannot look over without feelings of the liveliest interest, which the Christian cannot regard without feeling his bosom heave with pity and his cheek tinged with shame. The first reflection which is forced upon us is, that the Ethiopian population, and that alone, is *indigenous*. All the rest is foreign. Moreover, the evidence now rises to complete demonstration, that no influences of climate, but original differences of physical and moral constitution, have separated them from the rest of mankind and made them a peculiar people. The Arab has lived for ages in the same climate. In the sixth century Moslemism spread like a lightning-flash over the northern part of Africa, and finally found its way along the whole southern and western coast. So that when the Portuguese near the close of the fifteenth century circumnavigated Africa, they found Arabian settlements, and even cities not without refinement and splendor, scattered along the shores. They had been there more than five centuries, but they were Arabs still, and assimilated not at all to the native population. An African sun had poured its rays upon these people and African breezes had fanned them century after century, but they were neither changed into Africans nor did they discover the least tendency to such transformation. In these settlements the Arab was supplanted by the Portuguese, but the descendants of the first Moslem invaders inhabit other parts of Africa to the present day. Yet the influences of climate through twelve centuries have had no effect whatever in effacing the strong original lines of character, or moulding their natures into the Negro form. Still the Arab is an Arab, and the African is an African. And he continues such in every age and in every country, and in conformity with organic laws, which climate did not make and which climate can never dissolve.

What is the character, and what the destiny of this race? A people, even in the lowest state of barbarism, always

indicate more or less distinctly that kind of civilization to which they are destined. Our English civilization, yea, the rough sketch of our very institutions, is found far back among the piratical race out of which we sprang—the Teutonic tribes, which in the time of Tacitus occupied the dark forests of Germany and the coasts of the German and Baltic seas. When a people rise out of barbarism, they preserve still the outlines of their original character, though indeed changed and transfigured, and reflecting the light of science, religion and refinement.

The peculiar genius and susceptibilities of a people are shown in two ways. First, in their history. This is the safest and the surest, for here their genius goes out into its results and we see them in enterprise and action. Or if a people have had no history, we may divine to some extent what it would be, should their nature be developed on the theatre of events; and this we may do by their physical and moral constitution.

Has the African any history? He has; and one in which gleams of grandeur and glory struggle forth from the long night of ages.

On this subject, those who attempt to divest the African of his humanity and rank him with things and animals, manifest an ignorance as disgraceful to their characters as men of intelligence, as is their code of cruelty and blood to their characters as Christian men. The idea that Africa has only presented a dead level of barbarism, or that the imbruted countenance of the Negro slave is the only index of his susceptibilities and powers, every scholar, if not every person of common information, knows, or should know, to be false. The African, we have said, never loses that peculiar type of character which belongs to his race, unless it be by amalgamation with other races. But he shows a nature as flexible, and susceptibilities as various, as belong to the Caucasian. The range of qualities and compass of powers which are found on the part of the Saxon, from the grim worshippers of Odin in the woods of Germany to the Christian communities of this nineteenth century, are hardly more varied than are to be found in the history of the African nations through a series of ages.

Professor Heeren\* has exhibited the results both of

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\* Reflections on the Politics, Intercourse and Trade of the Ancient Nations of Africa.

ancient and modern discovery within the borders of Africa. He has summoned before him every traveller from Herodotus down to Champollion and Lander, till the country, with its teeming and varied population, emerges out of obscurity, and lies before his mental vision in "the soft sunlight of peace." Sometimes the African passes before him with black and stolid features, the brow retreating far away, the nose flattened and the lower part of the face projecting forward, on which the lowest appetites have left their most disgusting image. Again, in other circumstances and with a more favorable mental development, the animal is lost and the graceful mien of the man rises and reappears; the mouth retreats and the forehead advances, proclaiming the supremacy of the higher powers over appetite, and the form and features assume a Grecian symmetry and beauty. There is a nation called Tuaricks, who inhabit the oases and southern borders of the great desert, whose occupation is commerce and where caravans ply between the Negro countries and Fezzan. They are described by two travellers, Hornemann and Lyon. The western tribes of this nation are white, so far as the climate and their habits will allow. Others are of a yellow cast; others, again, are swarthy; and in the neighborhood of Soudan, there is said to be a tribe completely black. All speak the same dialect, and it is a dialect of the original African tongue. There is no reasonable doubt of their being aboriginal. Lyon says they are the finest race of men he ever saw; "tall, straight, and handsome, with a certain air of independence and pride, which is very imposing."\* Farther east, between the Sahara and Lybian deserts and on the borders of both, is a nation called the Tibboos, who seem to have originated south and migrated northward. Their color is of "the brightest black;" they have "aquiline noses, fine teeth, and lips formed like those of Europeans."† Along the upper valleys of the Nile are found the people of Nubia, a nation once hardy and independent, who resisted with heroic courage the armies of the Pasha of Egypt, but were nearly extirpated in the conflict. Burkhart calls them "a handsome race;" their features noble, their native color "a dark red brown," the face oval, the nose

\* Heeren, Vol. I. p. 297.

† Ib. p. 299.

"often perfectly Grecian;" "the upper lip, generally, somewhat thicker than is considered beautiful among northern nations," being the only trace of the proper Negro countenance.\* Farther south, on the banks of the Gambia and the Joliba, are nations having the proper Negro profile and color, and holding a place much lower in the scale of civilization. But it is important to observe, that as you go from tribe to tribe and from nation to nation, the features vary and run gradually into each other, changing through the whole scale from brutal deformity to masculine grace and feminine beauty; from the social state where the form of man seems almost lost under the *dehumanizing* influence of the baser passions, to where it is restored by the spirit of manly activity and independence.

Such is a glance at the present condition of some of the more important of the African nations. But, as we said, the African has a history. Around the sources of the Nile, and thence south-west into the very heart of Africa, stretching away indefinitely over its mountain-plains, lies the country which the ancients called "Ethiopia," rumors of whose wonderful people found their way early into Greece, and are scattered over the pages of her poets and historians. Homer wrote at least eight hundred years before Christ, and his poems are well ascertained to be a most faithful mirror of the manners of his times and the knowledge of his age. In the first book of the *Iliad*, Achilles is represented as imploring his goddess-mother to intercede with Jove in behalf of her aggrieved son. She grants his request, but tells him the intercession must be delayed for twelve days. The gods are absent. They have left Olympus and gone to the distant climes of Ethiopia to join in its festal rites. "Yesterday Jupiter went to the feast among the *blameless* Ethiopians, away upon the limits of the ocean, and all the gods followed together."† Homer never wastes an epithet. He often alludes to the Ethiopians elsewhere, and always in terms of admiration and praise, as being the "most just of men; the favorites of the gods."‡ The same allusions glimmer through the Greek mythology, and appear in the verses of almost all the Greek poets ere yet the countries of Italy and Sicily were even discovered. The Jewish Scrip-

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\* Heeren, Vol. I. p. 307.

† *Iliad*, ii. 423.

‡ *Iliad*, xxiii.

tures and Jewish literature abound in allusions to this distant and mysterious people,\* the annals of the Egyptian priests are full of them, and uniformly the Ethiopians are there lauded as among the best and most religious and most civilized of men.†

But when the father of Grecian history lifts the veil of obscurity and dissipates the haze that hung over this mysterious people, we find that the impressions of the Greek poets, though vague and general, were altogether correct. All the researches of Mr. Heeren, all modern travellers, confirm the narratives of Herodotus, sometimes even in details which are almost startling. His statements are trustworthy, except when narrating things professedly incredible, and then he puts the reader on his guard. After describing Arabia as "a land exhaling the most delicious fragrance," he says, "Ethiopia, which is the extremity of the habitable world, is contiguous to this country on the south-west. Its inhabitants are very remarkable for their size, their beauty, and their length of life."‡ In his third Book he has a detailed description of a single tribe or nation of this interesting people, called the Macrobian, or long-lived Ethiopians. Cambyzes, the Persian king, had made war upon Egypt and subdued it. He is then seized with an ambition of extending his conquests still farther, and resolves to make war on the Ethiopians. But before undertaking his expedition he sends spies into the country, disguised as friendly ambassadors, who carry costly presents from Cambyzes. They arrive at the court of the Ethiopian prince, "a man superior to all others in the perfection of size and beauty," who sees through their disguise, and takes down a bow of such enormous size that no Persian could bend it. "Give your king this bow, and in my name speak to him thus:—The king of Ethiopia sends this counsel to the king of Persia. When his subjects shall be able to bend this bow with the same ease that I do, then let him venture to attack the long-lived Ethiopians. Meanwhile let him be thankful to the gods, that the Ethiopians have not been inspired with the same love of conquest as himself." § A description follows of the man-

\* Chronicles xiv. 9; xvi. 8. Isaiah xlv. 14. Jeremiah xlvii. 9. Josephus, Ant. ii.

† Heeren, Vol. I. pp. 290, 291.    ‡ Herod. III. 114.    § Ib. III. 21.

ners and customs of the nation, and of their great wealth. Yet the Macrobianians seem to have been the least civilized of this family of nations. Large cities, abounding in wealth and splendor, were found in the regions of Ethiopia, where some of the arts were carried to an astonishing perfection. The descendants of these people have some of them relapsed into barbarism ; some, it may be, preserve the virtues and glories of their ancestors in that vast central region which has never been trodden by the foot of modern traveller, and of which we have heard but vague and uncertain tidings.

Let us pause here one moment, and follow the march of civilization on its way into Europe. Whenever its light has once burned clearly, it has been diffused, but not extinguished. Every one knows that Rome borrowed her civilization from Greece ; that Greece again borrowed hers from Egypt, that thence she derived her earliest science and the forms of her beautiful mythology. The mythology of Homer is evidently hieroglyphical in its origin, and has strong marks of family resemblance to the symbolical worship of Egypt. But whence, again, came the civilization of Egypt ? It descended the Nile. It spread over the Delta of that river, as it came down from Thebes, the wonderful city of a hundred gates. Thebes, as every scholar knows, is more ancient than the cities of the Delta. The ruins of her colossal architecture are covered over with hieroglyphics and strown with the monuments of Egyptian mythology. But whence came Thebes ? It was built and settled by colonies from Ethiopia, or from cities which were themselves the settlements of that nation. The higher we ascend the Nile, the more ancient are the ruins on which we tread, till we come to the "hoary Meroe," which Egypt acknowledged to be the cradle of her institutions. But Meroe was the queenly city of Ethiopia, into which all Africa poured its caravans laden with ivory, frankincense, and gold. So it is that we trace the light of Ethiopian civilization first into Egypt, thence into Greece and Rome, whence, gathering new splendor on its way, it hath been diffused, and will ever be diffusing itself all the world over. We need not remark, to what extent our Saxon civilization has received refinement and grace from the Roman and Grecian. So that those who gravely discuss the question whether the African can be civilized, or whether he belongs to the human



brotherhood, are boasting of light, some rays of which have strayed down to them from the ancestors of the race they affect to despise, — light which has helped to give polish to our Scythian rudeness and soften the barbarism of our Saxon manners. It is well for man when swollen with a sense of his superiority over his fellows, to be reminded how weak and narrow are his pretensions, how short-sighted and contemptible is his pride!

As we ascend towards the fountains of the Nile into the regions of Ethiopia, we come to a point where that river divides into two arms, which, after sweeping round for some hundreds of miles, again approach each other, having once formed a complete junction, thus holding a large island in their embrace. This island was the ancient kingdom of Meroe.\* Here stood its capital, with its magnificent marts, pyramids, and temples. Here, according to the annals of the Egyptian priests, was the birth-place of science and art. Hence colonies swarmed forth through the valleys of the Nile, and built cities along its banks.† Here was the most ancient oracle of Jupiter Ammon, and hence descended the Egyptian and Grecian deities to the shores of the Mediterranean. Here a line of queens and princes had flourished long, when Moses was leading out the children of Israel from the bondage of the Pharaohs.‡ Here was the Sheba of Scripture, whose Queen came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon. Hence came the army under Zerah, of “a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots,” against the children of Israel.§ Here, according to Pliny, was a kingdom powerful and illustrious as far back as the time of the Trojan war, when it “contained two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, and four hundred thousand artificers.” || It continued long the rival of Egypt, until, wasted by war, it fell a prey to the ambition of its rulers.

The fame of this ancient kingdom had only glimmered through ancient annals, and it might have seemed that they had made large draughts upon tradition and fable, but for the confirmations of modern discovery. But Bruce and

\* Heeren, Vol. I. p. 383. † Ib. II. p. 106 — who refers to Diodorus.

‡ Ib. Vol. I. pp. 422 — 430.

§ 2 Chronicles xiv. 9.

|| Nat. Hist., vi. 35.

Burkhardt, when ascending the Nile, had seen at a distance on this island pieces of obelisks, broken pedestals, and statues just peering from heaps of sand, which indicated the site of some ancient city. More recent travellers have followed up the discovery, removed the sand from the ruins, entered through the *pylones* of ancient temples into their immense halls and colonnades, whose sides and pillars are covered with sculptures in bas-relief. There they read the history of ages. The priests are offering sacrifice; prisoners are led captive in long procession; the reigns of its kings, their enterprises and victories, are celebrated with wonderful minuteness. The architecture, though of the Egyptian order, is of a style which clearly preceded that of Thebes, — one indicating the infancy, the other the progress of art. Groups of these temples are scattered over the island, besides mausolea of the dead in such numbers that Heeren, not inaptly, styles them “a church-yard of pyramids.” These ruins are not confined to the island. They strew the valley of the Nile above and below, and more especially on the way to Thebes, along which Pliny enumerates the names of forty cities. At Kalabshé, still within the limits of ancient Ethiopia, is a monument hewn out of a rock, ninety feet long by nearly sixty wide, whose walls contain a series of bas-reliefs. The subject of them is not to be mistaken. It is the conquest of Ethiopia and Meroe by the Pharaohs.\* This event is placed by authentic history fifteen hundred years before Christ, that is, about the time of Moses. How long had the kingdom been flourishing *then*? What centuries of peace had it enjoyed, that the arts of sculpture and architecture might attain to such a state of perfection? When was Meroe founded, and whence came the men who built it? If they came from Asia, why were not the earlier settlements towards the mouth of the Nile? Did they descend from the vast table-lands of Ethiopia, which occupy the heart of Africa, and which now, not less than in Homer’s time, are a region of mystery and wonder? Alas! we have come to that limit where twilight fades away into total darkness.†

But there is one fact, which we learn with great accuracy

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\* Heeren, Vol. I. p. 354.

† The Egyptian priesthood considered their order, of African, not Asiatic origin.

from the walls of these pyramids and temples. They settle the vexed question respecting the color and physiognomy of the ancient Ethiopians and Egyptians. Their sculptures were also paintings. The bas-reliefs were painted in colors, which are now as fixed and as fresh as they were thousands of years ago.\* The fact is marvellous, and shows that this art had been perfected by them to a degree that baffles all modern invention. The figures are painted uniformly in a reddish brown, with dark hair more or less curled, with handsome features and with nothing of the brutish profile. We recognize all that we read in ancient writers of the noble form and features of the men, and the charms and graces of woman. Heeren discovers their descendants, as he supposes, among the African tribes, where these ancient energies may still be traced in their mournful ruin and decay.

Such is a glance at the ancient history of Africa. Its modern history is briefly told. It is one of barbarism, injuries and woes. Still, as we have seen, the African manifests here and there a capacity, if rightly unfolded, of attaining to his primal greatness. It is to be remembered, that there is a region, as large as the whole territory of the United States, occupying the central portion of Africa, which is almost entirely unknown. It is guarded on every side by pestilence and malaria, placed there as the avenging angels of God to keep the white man from his prey. And yet this is probably included in that Ethiopia of the Greek poets, whose sacrifices were most grateful to the gods. Judging from what must be its geographical features, this is the region which ought to produce the hardiest race of men. It cannot be desert. Large rivers travel down from these regions to the ocean. While the northern deserts are cursed by the sirocco, this portion, in the opinion of Humboldt, is a vast champaign country, made healthful by mountain breezes and offering the varieties of every zone. The farther the traveller penetrates the interior, the less degraded has he generally found the inhabitants. The city of Tombuctoo was mentioned by Ptolemy more than seventeen centuries ago, and is still distinguished for its commerce. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review*† states, on the

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\* Heeren, Vol. II. p. 176.

† July No. of 1835.

authority of intelligent travellers, who had penetrated towards the central region on the south and east, that they found people there distinguished for the virtues of kindness and social order, whose civilization would compare with that of ancient Peru or Mexico. And what is more remarkable, nations are found in intercourse with people still more interior, who give descriptions of a social state more elevated than their own, and kingdoms celebrated for their resources, enterprise and power.

But what judgment shall we form from the African's moral constitution and susceptibilities?

Among the moral ruins of this race it is easy to see, that something beautiful hath fallen into ruin, even as their buried temples and broken obelisks point back to a state of material magnificence. Mr. Park in his travels through western Africa was impressed with the docility of the children, the heavenly charities of woman, the bursting sensibilities, filial piety and parental love which relieved the monotony of desolation; mild traits of character beaming sweetly through the customs of barbarism. Then there is one universal fact, whose meaning cannot be mistaken — the African's love of music. Every evening, when the sun gets down, all Africa is alive with dance and song. The sound of music, rude though it be, stirs the leaves of the palm-tree from the marts of Ophir to the coast of Congo. Nor is this the yell and the war-dance of the savage. Though rude and tumultuous, Mr. Park describes it as the outbreak of emotion; and sometimes the most tender and plaintive airs were wafted from the hut of the Negro. Among the Moors who bordered upon the Negro settlements he heard nothing of the nature of music. But the music of the Negro was attended sometimes with simple extemporaneous songs, which breathed the most child-like feelings of human nature. That specimen which has probably found its way into every nursery, commencing with the words, "The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree," is unsurpassed for genuine pathos by anything in any language, and the heart must indeed be hard in which it has not touched the place of tears.

But farther than this: it is an undeniable fact, that the moral nature stamps its outlines upon the physical, and

gives it its configuration and coloring. We do not mean by this, that everything respecting man is to be determined by Craniology or Neurology, or whatever may be the latest form of a sensual and material metaphysics. The physiologist cannot be blind to the fact, that not merely the brain and the nerves, but the muscular system and the whole outward man, correspond in some sort to the faculties and powers that dwell within; that the physical nature is the garment of the inward man, one being fitted to the other and clothing it like a robe. Phrenology argues from without inward. We would argue from within outward; for the plastic and transforming influence comes from the soul to the body, and not the reverse. The deeper and more interior energies shape the outward to themselves and give them their moulding and contour, and so the spirit is queen over matter, and not matter over spirit. We cannot say that a man or a race have a certain organism, and therefore such is their moral character; but we may say, that they and their ancestors must have had a certain character and certain moral tendencies, since such is their physical organization. It is enough, however, for our purpose, to notice two grand divisions of the human powers, of which every man is conscious, and which in their more outward manifestations are indicated by physiology,—we mean the affectional and intellectual—one having its seat in the posterior, the other in the front regions of the brain. As one class or the other is predominant in cultivated man, he will exhibit one of two kinds of excellence and glory. It will be intellect, pouring out its cold yet vivid splendors, shedding light upon the causes of events, exploring the secret places of nature and giving impulse to science and philosophy; or, on the other hand, it will be love, shedding around its warm and golden sunshine, forming a state of society simple, primitive and mild, where the kind offices and endearing charities of life are more conspicuous than the finer forms of art or the trophies of discovery. That the Caucasian belongs to the first class, nobody can doubt. Truth and reason sit enthroned upon his forehead, and irradiate the whole track of his history. Not so with the African. Both his organization and his history place him in the other class. We do not learn very minutely the nature of the ancient civilization of Africa, but we know that the forms

• of its art were irregular and colossal, and not till they were transferred to Greece and came under the hand of the Caucasian, were they chiselled to that severe polish and classic grace which satisfy the intellect and make them the charm of ages. Moreover, the Ethiopians, as we have seen, are described by the Greek poets and historians as blameless, excellent, good; and their civilization is represented as a sphere of warm and peaceful effulgence. All modern travellers, especially towards the central portions of Africa where this race are formed into something like communities and states, represent them as abounding in the primitive virtues. Indeed all that we know of the Negro character goes to show, that the affectional powers prevail over the intellectual. He feels more than he thinks. He can imitate, but he cannot invent. Alas for the white man, were it otherwise! Let the African have such a measure of thought and power of intellection as should correspond with the body of his passions and sentiments, and it would go out into plans and combinations of means and ends, which would put a period to his bondage forever. But his mind does not unfold itself in this direction. His feelings are impulsive, his gratitude irrepressible and brimming over, his family attachments strong, his religious sentiment exceedingly lively and kindled by a spark into a blaze of enthusiasm. Witness the heart-moving scenes of West India emancipation.

Such being the history and nature of the African, can we doubt what will be the order of his civilization whenever its day shall arrive? It will be one founded on the moral, not the intellectual nature. He will never be distinguished for discovery, for science, for æsthetics, or philosophy. But, by those attributes which shed a mild and humanizing influence, which warm and fertilize the affections, the African is capable, when he reaches his destiny, of giving back to the European ten-fold more than he ever received. His nature is capable of reflecting in its softer shades the hues of mercy and goodness. His will be a social state peculiarly his own, adorned with a whole cluster of virtues which have never attached themselves with ease and grace to the Northern character. His past history and his natural susceptibilities all point to an auspicious future, lying, it may be, far remote in the progress and redemption of the world.

This question is every year becoming fraught with new interest, by the condition of this race upon the American continent and their relations to the white man. We will not enlarge upon this branch of the subject ; but there is one thought that forces itself upon our minds. Is it by accident merely that the two races have been thrown together upon the Western continent ; and is there no Providence which is waiting to evolve some great good from this enormous wrong ? On this magnificent theatre, the opening scene of the last great drama of humanity, we see offsets from every race and the rudiments of every species of civilization thrown promiscuously together. Neither has been perfect in its former isolation. Have they not been brought into this relation, that each might supply the defects of the others, and that "the latter-day glory" might collect into itself all the rays which had been separated and scattered abroad ? Will not each modify and temper the others, so that somewhere in our future destiny humanity may unfold its powers with more perfect symmetry, and its light be full-orbed ? And when the light of freedom and education and religion shall fall into the African mind, and he shall rise out of that social abyss into which his oppressors have plunged him, who shall say that he may not fill a most important place in perfecting the civilization of the Western world ? Is it credible, that three millions of men and their descendants, having peculiar characteristics, are to have no important part in shaping our future destiny as a nation ? Fallen as the African is, we read his possible condition in the history of his ancestors and the character of his race. Even his physical nature in his lowest degradation bears upon it lineaments corresponding to the moral and spiritual traits, which will appear whenever his spirit takes wing and rises into the clear light and pure air. The very worm that crawls upon the earth wears upon its body those prominences, which on the expanded wings of the released and soaring insect are changed into spangles of gold and silver.

And who are we, to doubt the possibility of his transformation ? Our own release from barbarism is comparatively recent and imperfect. Go back a few centuries, and we may find our ancestors described in the graphic touches of Tacitus and Cæsar. See them in the gloomy forests of Germany, sacrificing to their grim and gory idols ; drinking

the smoking blood of their prisoners; quaffing libations from human skulls; infesting the shores of the Baltic for plunder and robbery; bringing home the reeking scalps of enemies as an offering to their king. These are our ancestors! And this the barbarism out of which our civilization has come, "like a Lapland spring from the icy bosom of winter." Hang up this picture alongside of the one sketched by Homer and Herodotus, and say which is the more charming, and whether the Englishman or the Ethiopian has reason to boast the louder of his lineage. And yet those rough and savage men had among them the rudiments of modern society. Their reverence for woman, whom they made the priestess of their shrines, if not the divinity of their groves, was the origin of the glorious chivalry which adorned the annals of Europe in after-times, and which has determined the best feature of American manners. Out of their laws of social justice was elaborated the English system of Common Law, called "the perfection of human reason." Their wild and savage jargon furnished the elements of the language which we speak—a language which pours its silvery cadences through the stanzas of *Spencer*, which rolls in ocean-like majesty through the song of *Milton*, and which flows with the smoothness of a deep and gentle river through the verse of *Wordsworth*. Let us be sufficiently humble ourselves, and hopeful of the other families of the human race. In fact, the whole race has but just commenced its career. The superior beings behold man just risen at the morning prime, his destined social and moral state almost at an infinite distance before him. From their point of view there can be hardly a perceptible difference in the relative degree of advancement among the races. They all appear, so to say, on one ground in the perspective, just as objects remote from each other, when seen from some point vastly more remote, blend together and form but one figure on the sky. So must the various races of men appear from that high ground towards which the whole race is pressing on. And from that ground how clear must it be, that no other sentiments become them than those which prompt to mutual aid and mutual respect and love.

E. H. S.



## ART. IV.—PULPIT ELOCUTION.\*

THIS is one of those books which ought to do good. There is no man among us more competent to write on Elocution, than Mr. Russell. He has been long known as an accomplished teacher of this important art, and the various works on the same subject which have come from his hand, have all been characterised by sound judgment and good sense. Whilst he urges in strong terms the importance of the study of elocution, his views, both as to the methods and results of culture, are free from extravagance and charlatanry. In addition to his other qualifications, he is a scholar and an author, and is thus better able to appreciate the difficulties with which literary men of sedentary habits have to contend, in public speaking.

The present volume has its value increased by two introductory essays, one from Rev. Dr. Park, and the other from Rev. E. N. Kirk; than whom, no persons among us are better qualified to speak authoritatively respecting whatever appertains to sacred eloquence.

Were we not familiar with the facts, it would seem incredible that the study of elocution should be so much neglected, and especially by those who are preparing for the ministry. A young man spends years in disciplining his faculties and storing his mind with knowledge. The great object of life with him is to communicate thoughts to the minds of others, to awaken their feelings, to arouse and direct the determinations of their wills. To accomplish what he wishes, he has one great instrument, the voice. He is to be a public speaker. And yet the art of speaking is precisely what he neglects. The great business of life with him is to communicate what is in him to others, and yet he almost doubts whether it is right to cultivate the power of communication.

Of course, no study of rhetoric or oratory will make a stupid or a bad man, a good preacher. It does not propose

\* *Pulpit Elocution: comprising Suggestions on the importance of Study; Remarks on the effect of Manner in speaking; the Rules of reading, exemplified from the Scriptures, hymns and sermons; Observations on the principles of Gesture; and a Selection of pieces for practice in reading and speaking.* By WILLIAM RUSSELL, Instructor in Elocution. Andover: Allen, Morrill and Wardwell. 1846. 12mo. pp. 408.

to give, or to supply the want of, mental culture or Christian principle. But, assuming that a young man has those attainments of mind and qualities of character which fit him for the ministry, the elocutionist would give him that instruction in the management of the organs of expression, which will enable him to utter truly and forcibly the thoughts and emotions which are already in his own soul. He would take the seal from the lips and the lethargy from the arm, and enable him to express truly what he feels strongly. Until the preacher has this power of expressing through voice and manner what is within him, no matter how wise and good he may be, he will be unfitted for his office. He will be like a closed dark lantern, full of light in itself, but giving none to others.

In other cases we recognize the importance of cultivating the art of expression. If one were proposing to make authorship the business of life, we should think it advisable for him at least to learn how to write in a clear and correct style. Indistinct articulation, false tones and emphasis, an undeveloped voice, an inexpressive, vague manner, are to the preacher, what bad grammar, ignorance of the meaning of words, a scanty vocabulary, or confused, entangled sentences and paragraphs, are to the author. The art of writing is the art of expressing thoughts by means of the pen, as that of speaking, is by the voice. In our New England churches, these two modes of expression are combined. To the preacher, the latter is as important as the former, with this additional consideration in his case, that the value of what he writes is hidden and lost in a defective elocution.

Our systems of education recognise the importance of the art of writing. In the academy, the college, the professional school, the student is subjected to a constant discipline in composition. But no such attention is paid to the art of speaking. In the primary school, learning to read means, not learning how to express through the agency of the voice the thought and emotion which are in any given passage, but merely to repeat with sufficient rapidity the words which it contains. During the succeeding stages of education, the student is required at certain intervals to declaim pieces committed to memory. This, with a few criticisms, is all that is done in this department.

Those who know what such declamations ordinarily are, and how conducted, know their utter uselessness. They do little towards training or developing the powers of the voice, and as little to remedy defects of tone or gesture. The inefficiency of the common instruction given in elocution is so evident, that the teacher takes little interest in it, and the scholar holds the art itself in contempt.

After years of assiduous training of mind and heart, a young man, full of high purposes and ardent hopes, at length enters the pulpit. His influence there depends on his being able to communicate to others what is in his own soul. Yet for this he is unprepared; or what is worse, is perhaps almost incapacitated for doing it, by the vicious habits of voice and manner which he has unconsciously contracted. The sermon before him may have been written out of a heart throbbing with emotion, but when he delivers it, he feels that, for some reason or other, he is not conveying to the minds of others what was in his own. The eyes of the congregation, which at first looked expectantly, begin to droop or wander, he has no hold on the attention of his hearers, his words fall lifeless into the air, and he concludes his discourse with the depressing conviction that he might as well have said nothing. If he is a modest and self-distrustful man, he will either become discouraged, lose confidence in himself and drag on a desponding and unprofitable life, or striving to remedy past neglect, he will subject himself to that discipline in elocution which, if his habits are not too confirmed, may at length enable him to become an efficient preacher. Infinitely more hopeless is the case of him, who cannot imagine the fault to be in himself; who attributes his want of influence to the hard, worldly and irreligious hearts of his hearers; instead of referring it to a manner which repels all attention, and a voice whose intonations make meaningless what in itself may be full of meaning.

But the evil does not stop here. In nearly all cases a minister's influence out of the pulpit depends very much on his influence in it. Unless he is first an effective preacher, he will probably be nothing anywhere. There are doubtless some striking exceptions, but as a general rule, a dull, ineffective preacher is not likely to be much regarded as a pastor. The reasoning of a people may be

incorrect, but it is very natural, in assuming that he, who with the advantage of deliberate preparation cannot on Sunday speak words which deserve attention, will still less deserve it for the unpremeditated words of the week. When a man spends one day in seven in convincing his people of his dulness, he will probably succeed; and when he has once associated the idea of dulness and incapacity with himself in his most important work, he will find that they are indisposed to give heed to him in other things. As illustrating this, Mr. Russell mentions a fact which deserves consideration. Except there be some obliquity of character or great imprudence of conduct, a minister rarely has any difficulty with a congregation, so long as he makes the Sabbath services profitable to them. But if he have a cold, lifeless manner, which repels attention and makes the church a place of profitless weariness, the congregation will soon be uneasy. Men feel that it will not do to have the great truths of religion made so uninteresting to their children, and they reasonably demand that what occupies so much time should be made more profitable to themselves. However good and wise he may be as a man, as a minister they need one who can *impart* that wisdom and goodness, and they will be disposed on the first good opportunity to be rid of one who fails in this essential part of his office.

And he has no right to expect any other result. He may think that his people ought to pay attention to the meaning of what he says, and not to the manner—to the substance, and not the form. He is unjust towards them. If his words were printed and his hearers allowed to give them their proper emphasis and intonation, it would be their fault if they did not feel their true weight. But when he utters them himself, it is very different. If his manner blurs and stifles the meaning of his words, his hearers are not accountable for failing to understand what he has made unintelligible. When he undertakes to express his meaning, not by words alone, but by voice and gesture, emphasis, intonation, gesture become as important as his style of writing. Nay, more; they are not the mere form, but they constitute a part of the substance of what he says. He has no more right to blame a people for being insensible to the ideas which are in his mind but which he does not utter, than

an artist who pays no attention to drawing or coloring, has reason to blame those who cannot see in the caricatures with which he covers the canvas, the forms of beauty which he thinks are in his mind.

There is a very common prejudice against the study of elocution, arising from the idea that the result will be to give one an artificial and theatrical manner. The young man preparing for the ministry dreads, as he ought to dread, everything like insincerity. He fears the intrusion of stage-effect into the pulpit. He feels that his office demands the utmost earnestness of his soul, and above all things he recoils from the arts of a self-seeking, self-conscious rhetorician. He will preserve a natural manner, though it be a poor one. Better be ineffective, than false. The feeling in itself is a right one, and to be most carefully cherished, but it is out of place. It is founded on a complete misconception of the purpose of studying the art of elocution. What is the object of a teacher of elocution? Not, if he have any just idea of his vocation, to teach a few tricks of oratory by which to attract admiration. It is to give such instruction in the management of the voice, as shall develop its powers and make it a more flexible, forcible and perfect instrument with which to express thought and emotion. It is to make him who is to be a public speaker, pay more attention both to the meaning of what he says and to the best mode of conveying that meaning to others. It is to correct those factitious habits which clog and deaden his ideas when he utters them. It is to carry him through a course of exercises which shall give him more command over himself, more command over all the organs through which the mind expresses itself, and to continue this instruction till he shall have substituted good habits for bad ones. The object of the elocutionist is not to teach the student how to feign feelings, but how to make his manner more truly represent what he really feels — not to teach him arts, but to develop his powers of expression. And when this is done, so far from teaching him to think of his manner when he is in the pulpit, his first lesson is to forget it altogether and to abandon himself to the thought and emotion. Thus trained, he will speak naturally and forcibly, and all the more so because he thinks nothing of how he speaks.

In truth, he is likely to think most of his manner, who has paid least attention to its cultivation. Proper training looks, as its end, to the true expression of ideas ; and the accomplished elocutionist forgets manner, and keeps his mind on the thought. Whereas one who knows that he only half expresses what he wishes to say, who is conscious of having a bad tone, or that there are words which he mispronounces, or that his gestures are awkward, will be perpetually thinking of himself. An awkward and ungainly man in society thinks himself, and makes others think, tenfold more of his manner, than an accomplished gentleman. We are least self-conscious in doing those things which we do most easily and perfectly.

But the student is afraid of losing his natural manner and of acquiring an artificial one. He shrinks from it as he would from hypocrisy. What then is this natural manner, which he is so afraid of losing? Was it born with him, or is it a natural way of uttering his thoughts? So far from it, it is artificial in the worst sense of the term. His mode of pausing, he learned at the school where he was taught to count one at a comma and four at a period. His monotonous drawl dates back to childhood ; his whining tone, to some sentimental teacher, to whom he read sentimental poetry. The see-saw balancings of the clauses of a sentence, he caught from one school-boy declaimer whom he admired ; and his surprising gestures, thrown in at random to show that he is animated, were imitated from another. His sing-song cadences are to please his own musical ear, and may be natural. But the indistinct articulation, the coarse, hard, unmanageable voice, the nasal tones, the clipping of syllables, the false emphasis, the mispronunciation of words, these are not from nature, but from neglect of education. His manner, instead of being natural, is patched over with artificial habits which intercept the expression of all natural feeling. What he calls his natural manner, is like discolored and distorted glass, through which nothing is distinctly seen, while what is visible is out of shape. The business of the elocutionist is, to make him aware of these unnatural vices of manner, to put him in the way of getting rid of them, and thus to bring him back to a manner which is really natural, — one which shall be to the thought what perfectly clear plate-glass is to the objects

behind it—revealing them, while itself remains almost unseen.

It is sometimes thought hard, that congregations should be dissatisfied with a worthy minister because of a bad elocution. We think that the hardship is on the side of the congregation. When a man undertakes to address them from Sabbath to Sabbath on the most important themes in a manner which belies his words, and so far from attempting to correct defects which make his services powerless, clings to them and rather grows worse from year to year, surely his people have some reason to complain. What right has he to insist on making himself disagreeable? Suppose that his manner is natural, as probably it is not, they have a right to demand that he shall at least endeavor to improve his unfortunate nature. It is very natural for many, to be idle and selfish and procrastinating; yet who admits this naturalness as an excuse for such qualities? In what else did any one ever take credit to himself for not attempting to do well that which was the main business of his life, except in public speaking? And yet there are those who would boast of never having studied elocution, as if such neglect were meritorious, and as if those who had pursued a different course rendered themselves obnoxious to the suspicion of insincerity and self-seeking. If to be dull is the same thing as to be good, if languid gestures indicate a warm heart, and heavy, droning tones are the natural expression of a fervent piety, if lessons of virtue must necessarily be given in slumberous or repulsive ways, if it is necessary to be disagreeable in order to be sincere, then certainly let the grace and force of a cultivated nature be kept out of the pulpit. But if these things are not essential, then let the art of elocution—the art of true and forcible expression—be deemed a branch of study second only in importance to the disciplining and informing of the mind itself.

There are multitudes of ministers with habits now too fixed to allow of much improvement, who, in looking back, feel that their greatest mistake and calamity in life has been their neglect in early years of this study. A defective elocution has made half of their labor in vain. It has made those words sound cold and lifeless to others, which were prompted by the warmest feelings of the heart. When

most anxious to speak, it has made them as men that were dumb. It has been a constant burden and hindrance in the way of usefulness. And we are sure that, taught by a sad and depressing experience, there are few things except fidelity to God's law, which they would more urge upon those who are just entering the ministry, than the importance of sparing no pains in acquiring a true, natural and forcible elocution.

With such convictions we cannot but repeat our satisfaction at the appearance of a work so well suited to give a just and graceful style of elocution to the young student, and to correct faults that already exist, as the volume by Mr. Russell which has called forth these remarks.

E. P.

#### ART. V.—HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.\*

THE limits, which Dr. Beard seems to have prescribed to himself, and the extent of the subject indicated by the title of his volume given below, may have made it necessary for him to treat some points with greater brevity than might perhaps be desired. We are the less disposed to censure him for this, however, as the error is usually on the other side, that of too great prolixity. For one book which is too small, we have dozens which are too large. We will allow the author to state his object in his own words.

"The Essay now published," says he in his preface, "is essentially historical and artistic. This constitutes its peculiar character. Herein lies its argument. It is not, therefore, a repetition of the oft-repeated modes of reasoning, which have been accounted valid against the truth of Trinitarianism; though it is hoped that the theological review which it contains of the arguments adduced from Scripture in proof of the Trinity, may not be wholly without that novelty at least, which is always connected with earnest individual thought; but the Essay has a character of its own, and presents a mode of treating the subject, which, in all its extent, has probably not been attempted before.

\* *Historical and Artistic Illustrations of the Trinity; showing the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Doctrine; with Elucidatory Engravings.* By the Rev. J. R. BEARD, D. D. London. 1846. 8vo. pp. 200.



The worth of the argument, which is thus deduced from history and art, the writer must leave others to determine. To himself it appears decisive. The Trinity sprang up in a Heathen soil. It was imported into the Christian Church by men who had been heathen philosophers. It led in process of time to very great aberrations from the simple and strict monotheism of the primitive church. If, as this volume professes briefly to show, these are facts, then the Trinity was Christian neither in its origin nor in its effects." — pp. v, vi.

We think that the author has given more space to the alleged proofs of the Trinity drawn from the Bible, than one would be led to expect from the professedly historical character of his volume, though it was essential to his argument that he should show that the doctrine is not found in the Scriptures. The "elucidatory engravings," though not numerous, are certainly curious, and enhance the interest of the work as well as add force to its argument. Some of them, as the writer informs us, are taken from Didron's *Iconographie Chrétienne*, a work which would furnish materials for a valuable article on a subject somewhat novel. There is one topic treated in the volume, on which the reader undoubtedly will look for more information than he will find, and that is the "decline" of the Trinity. Of this the author gives fair warning in his preface, and the public will be glad to learn from him that he proposes shortly to issue another volume in which the defect will be partially, at least, supplied. He speaks of "the numerous evidences that lie open to the eye, of the decline of Trinitarianism in all civilized countries of Christendom." This is a subject which we should like to see thoroughly treated. We hope that Dr. Beard will find time to gather all the evidences that are accessible, though we are aware of the difficulty of the task thus imposed. For the present we must take leave of him, availing ourselves of the occasion afforded us by the publication of his volume, however, to present a brief historical sketch of the origin and history of the Trinity up to the time of its full development and establishment in the Christian Church.

The great mystery of Triune existence, as has been repeatedly demonstrated, is not peculiar as a doctrine of the Christian Church. In the annals of Egyptian mythology, we read of the unutterable union of Cneph, Phtha, and Neith; and the Hindoos had their Brahma, Vishnu, and

Siva, — quite as incomprehensible as their more modern representatives. These old Triads, however, differ in every essential particular from the Church Trinity. For the Hindoos hypostatized *all* the attributes of Deity, and ascribed to them, as real persons, birth, senses, accidents, and liability to annihilation. But it is not our intention to review Heathen opinions except in their immediate influence on Christian doctrine.

At the time when Christianity appeared, there were in men's minds three lines of thought, more or less consistently arranged — more or less distinct in their tendencies, though each was quite distinct from the others. With these in turn the new faith came in contact. It made the nucleus, round which they gathered. It drew together from all quarters the broken fragments of thought, and consolidated them, until so immense was the accretion that the name alone was hers — the whole visible, tangible substance was theirs; as sometimes in an artist's room, we may see an exquisite statue robed and curtained with the motley draperies of every nation on earth, concealing beauty to bring out effect; — though it has been somewhat more difficult to remove the sombre mantle from Christianity.

There were three lines of thought, — the Messianic idea of Palestine Jews, Asiatic Mysticism transformed by Judaism, known afterward as Gnosticism, and the Western Platonism also modified by contact with Judaism. These courses of speculation were only waiting for a point round which to gather, in order to become fixed as systems of religion.

In his Messiah, all the ideas of the Palestine Jew centred. Round that image clustered hopes of deliverance, visions of glory and conquest. The Christ filled his largest conceptions of prophet and prince. He was to be not God, but God-inspired — more powerful than David, high as Moses. Those who entertained such views as these would with reluctance receive Jesus as their Messiah. But there were some who did — the earliest Jewish Christians. The world over which he was to reign, was the soul; the princes of the world were passions and sin, and the fight was none the less fierce for being within. John's Gospel was not yet written, or copies of it were few; and Paul was understood by the heart, and not by the intellect. These men were

afterwards called Nazarenes. Their Christ was a divinely commissioned man, of distinguished excellence as an individual, of supernatural gifts as Messiah. They had no thought about præexistence or angelic natures. As a whole, those earliest Christians had not begun to speculate — they knew nothing of metaphysics. The immaculate conception many of them denied.\* Their faith seems to have been simple, and wholly free from mysticism. Most of the early Christians were poor and unlearned, received religion by word of mouth, and were grateful for it. We conceive that they, and such as they, had the truest views of Christ's faith then entertained. They received it, lived by it and died for it, in complete ignorance of the mystery of the Triune Godhead, without dreaming of "eternal generation," or mingling anything of human sophistry with their religious belief. We are often inclined to consider these poor Nazarenes† as the true Orthodox of those times, and for long ages afterwards. Like our Saviour himself, like his pious, single-hearted followers in all after-ages, they were despised and rejected. The ocean of an assumed orthodoxy swept over them; and when in the later heretical times they contrived to rise to the surface for one moment, they were immediately struck down by their vigilant adversaries. We have spoken of them, because it should be distinctly recognized, that the Deity of our Saviour was not heard of, until dreamers from the East and philosophers from the West, with the kindest intentions, consented to incorporate Christianity into their systems.

At Alexandria, soon after the birth of our Saviour, lived Philo Judæus—a deep scholar in an age when deep scholarship was virtue—and a profound philosopher after the fashion of his day, when every thinker was a theorizer. Living in a city which was filled to overflowing with every form of religion, whither each land sent its thought to be made up into something useful, this man occupied a very remarkable position. Knowing nothing of Christ, ignorant of any new philosophy, to be learned and melted in with the old ones, there he was, unconsciously laying the ground-

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\* Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, Vol. I, p. xlvi. Martini "Versuch von d. Gottheit Christi," p. 11.

† Souverain's "Platonisme Devoilé," p. 390, etc.

work of rules, by which Christ's Church was to be governed for centuries. He was unwittingly establishing principles, which, being afterwards developed, were to shake the religious world, utter excommunications, and pronounce theological damnation on human souls. But still more singular in his private relations to himself was this Philo. He was a type of the Trinity he gave rise to. He was three in one. On the left of his ancestral Judaism stood the Western Platonism; on the right stood the Oriental Mysticism. These three, in the mind of Philo, became twisted and welded together into one incongruous medley. But Philo typified the Trinity yet farther, in its contradictions and endless separation, as well as in its consolidation. In the second and third centuries we find the ancestral Judaism extended horizontally, like a field of strife on which the left and right sides are furiously contending — Platonism against Gnosticism — Orthodox against Heretic — Philo on the West against Philo on the East, standing upon Philo in the centre — until the Alexandrine philosopher was torn in pieces by his own dogs.

If we make the germs of opinions and systems represent the developed opinions and systems themselves, this is literally true. From the Platonic side of Philo sprang the Orthodox doctrine concerning the Logos; from the Oriental side of Philo sprang Gnosticism as a digested system, if it could ever be called a digested system; and Gnosticism joined issue with Orthodoxy upon the ground of Judaism. The opposition of Gnosticism had an important bearing upon the Church doctrine of the Logos, by compelling the early Church Fathers to ascertain their own meaning more distinctly and to use greater precision of language. We must know a little what it was in points that bear upon this subject. The essential ideas of Gnosticism were probably floating loosely in the Asiatic mind before the time of Philo, though the Gnostics as a sect were unknown before the second century, and borrowed the materials for various parts of their system from Philo. Their fundamental idea seems to have been the inherency of evil in matter. This doctrine, so common in the ancient philosophies, was held by Plato, by whom it was transmitted to Philo. They believed in common with the philosophers of their day, that matter was uncreated. The framer of the material world

was therefore not the supreme God, but an inferior being, who was also the God of the Jews. The God of the *pleroma* was not revealed by Moses. They were eclectics, and in adopting Christianity the person of Christ was made the fundamental point in their system. He was the Saviour, descended from the spiritual world, sent to redeem spirits from the clogs of matter, and to reveal the supreme, good, God. Necessarily following from the doctrine that evil is inherent in matter, was the doctrine that Christ had no material body, as nothing corrupt or earthy could come in contact with pure spirits. The Valentinians ascribed to him a real, though not a human body, while the Marcionites allowed him only the semblance of one. Keeping in view this idea of the Jewish Jehovah and of Christ's nature, we shall easily see what an effect their opposition would have in developing the contrary opinions of the Catholic Fathers. Contrary, we mean, in two important respects,—in their views of God, and of Christ as Logos.

In the second century, Christianity began to draw the attention of the inquisitive speculators of the Heathens; and induced by various motives, many philosophers became converts to the new faith. The first of these, whose opinions upon this subject can be ascertained, was Justin Martyr, A. D. 140. After him, up to the fourth century, followed a long line of Christianized Platonists, bringing out with growing distinctness the idea that Christ was God. There seems to be little question, that the earliest of these Fathers borrowed the conceptions and language of Philo,\* and through him indirectly derived their views from the Platonic philosophy. But this must be distinctly understood. When the Platonic origin of the Trinity was first exposed, the Trinitarians boldly took refuge in it, and were proud that their glorious doctrine was handed down through the most ancient tradition by the greatest minds that ever existed. We must be careful, however, when we assert that the doctrine of the Trinity came from Plato. The doctrine of the Trinity was not established until the commencement of the fifth century. Neither could the early Fathers have borrowed from Philo or Plato, what neither they, Philo, nor Plato had at all. All that can be said is, that the doctrine

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\* Müncher's Dogmengeschichte, I. p. 429.

of the Logos, out of which grew the Trinity after the lapse of three hundred years, came from Plato through Philo. This growth was accelerated partly by the refinements of the later Platonists, (who differed in many things from Plato,) in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, and partly by the opposition of heretics. Nothing analogous to the doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the Church, can be found in any of the genuine writings of Plato. His Epistles are generally rejected as spurious. Plato, however, *hypostatized* the Logos. The "ideas" which constituted his archetypal world, were animated beings subsisting by themselves. And this conception, especially when enveloped in the dazzling mist of Plato's splendid imagination, gave birth to many misconceptions and errors among his followers, and hastened the completion of the doctrine of the Trinity through the Christian Neo-Platonic Fathers. The influence of Platonic philosophy, operating, not through the early Fathers, but directly from the later Platonists themselves, was very great upon such men as Origen, and went far to establish what the early writers of the Church had, with all honesty, faintly attached to Christianity. This *unjudaized* Neo-Platonism, however, operated only upon the later of the Ante-Nicene Fathers—coming in as a *corps de reserve* to accelerate the Trinitarian tendency. The earlier Fathers wrote before the Neo-Platonists had exerted their full influence through such writers as Plotinus and Porphyry. They followed Philo Judæus, in whose mind the doctrines of Plato were somewhat transformed by Judaism, and by that looseness of thought which generally accompanies eclecticism. There has been much dispute about Philo's conception of the Logos. Amidst an almost infinite perplexity, however, thus much may be clearly gathered;—in common with the later Platonists generally, he hypostatized the powers or attributes of God, making them distinct persons. In this agree Mr. Norton,\* Martini,† and Münscher.‡ As has been just now said, Plato regarded the "ideas," or generic forms of things, which constituted his archetypal world, as subsisting by themselves,—as real existences, of which created things were

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\* Statement of Reasons, Sec. X. p. 261.

† Versuch, p. 120.

‡ Dogmengesch. Vol. I. p. 428.

but shadows. They existed not in the mind of God, but were distinct from him, by themselves. God contemplated them. They were always the same, undergoing no change — unproduced — indestructible. But although he conceived them to be animate and divine natures, we do not find that he endued them with consciousness and will, as was done by his later followers. In Philo, Plato's "ideas" became the hypostatized powers of God, and the whole archetypal world became the conscious, living Logos. With this, however, he is not always consistent, — sometimes representing the Logos as the hypostatized intellect of God, the framer and seat of the archetypal world, and sometimes as the archetypal world itself. This confusion arose from mistaking Plato's "ideas," which were distinct from God, for the hypostatized powers of God. This may seem to be a needless exactness, but it is very important that it be understood that Philo's Logos was a *distinct conscious agent*. When this Logos is made Christ, a loose thinker may easily infer from his words the supreme divinity of our Saviour.\*

Most of the writings ascribed to the Apostolical Fathers are by the learned pronounced spurious. Admitting their genuineness, however, they contain little of consequence in relation to the subject before us. The Trinity gains

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\* One more question might be raised in regard to Philo's Logos. Did he attach to it a double meaning, — as existing within the mind of God, and as manifested? Did he distinguish between the Logos *ἰδιαθετός* and the Logos *προποριστός*? Neander, as quoted by Mr. Norton, and Martini assert that he did. On the other hand Mr. Norton says, that this distinction was peculiar to the Fathers, nothing of the kind being found in Philo with any certainty. Münscher seems to coincide with Mr. Norton here. In Philo's view, the Logos was the hypostatized attributes and powers of God, not a distinct *created* being. The conception of the Fathers was this. Their Logos "*ἰδιαθετός*" was the hypostatized wisdom of God, existing from eternity in God. Their Logos "*προποριστός*" was the Logos as an actually created being, going out from God at the creation of the world in order to act as an agent in its formation. It came out from the inward Logos, and was distinct from God, created as an inferior agent. This is a very important distinction in its bearing upon the doctrine of the Trinity, as upon it, in after-times, turned the whole question between the Arians and the Athanasians. The idea is absurd and contradictory, but with that we are not concerned. The conception of God as living with his own wisdom as a distinct person, and then producing that same wisdom, as an inferior created being, from his own loins, (*ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις σπλάγχνοις*, Theophilus, Ad Autol. Lib. II. p. 355.) is as disgusting as it is nonsensical. But we must be patient with the thinkers of those days.

nothing from them. We pass therefore to the Christian Fathers, commencing at the middle of the second century. But before considering their opinions individually, one or two general remarks upon the character of their statements and the cast of their thought may not be out of place.

For a century and a quarter, or a little more, after the birth of its Founder, Christianity had shown no scholars; but at the end of that time, the constancy of the Christian martyrs and the peculiar character of Christian doctrine excited the curiosity of inquiring men, and philosophical converts from Heathenism came forward in defence. They were the early Church Fathers. These men had grown up in the current Platonism of their time. They were imbued with its spirit. They looked upon philosophy as a religion, and upon Christianity as a new form of philosophy, and saw no harm in reconciling the two. It would have been strange indeed, had they suddenly broken loose from their favorite studies, on their adoption of a new system. Their previously formed mental habits, the wish to set forth more clearly (as they thought) the nature of Christ, and the desire to recommend his religion to the philosophers of their age, explain sufficiently the use they made of their former speculations. In applying them to our Saviour they had the simplest intentions. They made no attempt to spread them abroad among the common people, who lived and died as unmistified as before. It does not appear, that at first they attached any saving importance to them. We hear nothing of heretics on any such grounds. Even the Gnostics were denounced, only because they denied that Jehovah was the Christian's God. Justin Martyr did not excommunicate or revile the Nazarenes for holding that Christ was only a divinely inspired man.\* Up to the time of Origen there seems to have been a distinction between the faith, "*πιστις*," which every Christian was required to accept, and the "*γνωσις*," or philosophy of religion, upon which men were entitled to their own opinions. The *γνωσις* was the scholarly exposition of the *πιστις*. This distinction, however, was not of long continuance after contradiction and discussion made particular opinions of more immediate importance.

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\* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 144.



But beside their old inclinations, other circumstances induced the Fathers to apply their speculations to Christianity. They were met by two classes of opponents. The first was the Gnostics, who denied the supreme Deity of Jehovah, from the imperfections and barbarities ascribed to him. The Orthodox Christians felt bound to take up the cause of Jehovah as the Christians' God. To get rid of the unworthy and degrading conceptions which had their origin in certain passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, they had recourse to the allegorical method of interpretation, which was of ancient origin, had been long applied by the Heathen philosophers to the offensive fables of their mythology, and was in very common use in the age of which we speak. Philo here, as elsewhere, prepared the way for the Fathers. They resorted also to the Platonic Logos for an explanation of these difficulties. Opening the Old Testament they met with such passages as the following:—"God said, Let there be light." "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made." "I, wisdom, was set up from everlasting." "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way." "Thine Almighty Logos leaped down from heaven, a fierce man of war." To these, they applied their philosophical theory of the Logos. The Logos, the word, the speech of God, became a separate being, standing between man and God. He walked in the garden of Eden, he appeared in the burning bush. Out of this, perhaps, grew their *prophoric* Logos. This was a proper person; they called it "God" ("θεος"); it "became flesh." Thus Jehovah's honor was vindicated and the difficulties overcome. This Logos, which had existed from eternity in God as his "mind," and at the creation came out from him and began to exist as a distinct subject, was Jesus Christ,—"God" ("θεος,") as passages in the New Testament, it was thought, also declared him to be. Thereupon other opponents, (Celsus in the second century, and Porphyry in the third,) brought forward a charge of polytheism. This compelled the Fathers to explain a little their conception of the Logos in its relation to God the Father, as a Divine being. Then too the Gnostics denied to Christ a corruptible body, which obliged the Fathers to explain the Logos in its relation to the Son as a man. We are speaking now, it will be remembered, of lines of thought, rather than of suc-

cessive, logically developed ideas. This demand upon them for clear definition was a sore trial for such writers. In judging of the reasonings of the Fathers, we must be careful not to try them by too strict rules of logic. In examining their statements, we are driven to think that they did not understand themselves, or the question upon which they were speculating. It was long before the vague notions and fluttering words of Justin, Athenagoras, and Irenæus brightened into meaning in the time of Tertullian and Origen, under the continued rubbing and filing of heretics. The Fathers halted between two opinions. On the one hand, they were anxious to exalt the Logos as high as possible, without identifying him with the Supreme Being; from which arose the question of the Son's generation and union with the Father. And on the other, they wished to make him as entirely a man as was consistent with his being the incarnate Logos; whence grew up the doctrine of the hypostatic union. Between these two extremes the Fathers hovered, contriving to elude the variously directed assaults of their adversaries, — their words stiffening constantly into sharper distinctness, while hanging over them and driving them on was the reproach of a crucified Saviour, so often and so bitterly cast upon them by their Heathen adversaries.

We have now glanced at three points, which are, we think, established. First, that nothing corresponding to the Church doctrine of the Trinity was held by Plato; thus removing the Trinitarian's reliance upon an ancient tradition. Secondly, that there were no speculations among Christians concerning the Logos, previously to Justin Martyr, A. D. 140. And thirdly, that the idea of the Logos, out of which grew the Trinity, was borrowed from Plato through Philo Judæus.

It remains for us to examine the actual statements of some of the more distinguished among the Orthodox Fathers.

Justin, a native of Flavia Neapolis, of Heathen parentage, was the first, as far as we know, who speculated upon the Logos as Christ. After going through all the various schools of philosophy he became a follower of Plato, and as a Platonist was converted to the Christian faith. He brought to Christianity no knowledge but that of phi-

iosophy. He studied the Old Testament, but only in the Greek translation, which he interpreted allegorically. His illustrations of his doctrine of the Logos were drawn chiefly from the Old Testament.

His conception of the Logos was as follows. It existed from eternity in God, as his reason or intelligence, being analogous to *reason* in man.\* Before the creation it was produced, or begotten; not necessarily, but by the will of the Father.† When thus begotten, the Logos was *numerically* distinct from the Father, although still one with him in concurrence of will.‡ Justin called the Logos "God,"§ though clearly in an inferior sense, following the usage of Philo. Justin distinctly and particularly asserted the complete subordination of the Logos as Son.|| His existence as Son depended upon the will of the Father. The Father is the Lord of the Logos, by whom the Logos becomes Lord and God,¶ of whom the Logos is servant and agent. He illustrates his views by extracts from the Old Testament. "What!" says he, "he who appeared to Moses in the burning bush, was not the Creator of all things, but his servant and agent, — the Logos, who in earlier days appeared to Abraham and to Jacob. No one of the least sense would say, that the Creator and Father of all things could leave his highest dwelling-place above the heavens, and become visible upon a little speck of earth."\*\*

With regard to the hypostatic union of the Logos with Christ, Justin's idea seems to have been this. The Logos was imparted to all rational beings.†† It was imparted to the Prophets and patriarchs, to Plato, Socrates, poets and law-givers, and to wise men generally, in a remarkable manner.‡‡ Each had more of the Logos in having more of truth. *How* this was, he does not clearly state. He evidently regarded the Logos as constituting intelligence, mind, in man. Christ possessed the whole Logos, as revealing the whole truth. The Logos was, properly speaking, Christ himself. From such conceptions we should suppose the Logos to have constituted the whole intelli-

\* Apol. II. p. 92. Dial. cum Trypho, p. 158.

† Dial. p. 195.

‡ Dial. p. 152.

§ Ib. p. 167.

|| Ib. pp. 157, 220, 221.

¶ Ib. p. 222.

\*\* Ib. p. 157.

†† Apol. I. p. 71.

‡‡ Apol. II. pp. 94, 95, 97.

gent nature of Jesus—a spiritual being with a living body—not a Divine nature united to a human nature. It was the Logos that suffered. Greater distinctness than this we cannot look for.

On the Holy Spirit, Justin is dark enough. Sometimes inspiration is attributed both to it and to the Logos. Again, it is a messenger of God. Again, both Spirit and Logos are called Wisdom. Again, the Logos is called Spirit and Holy Spirit.\* And on the whole, we can pronounce nothing decidedly upon his notion, by reason of the unsettled meaning attached to terms.

We have been thus particular in stating Justin's view, as he was the first who entered upon this mysterious matter. Contemporaneous with Justin, and holding the same views, were Theophilus and Tatian. Of the former it may be remarked, that he first used the word, "Trias,"† though in a wider sense than the term afterward received, and with no reference to the relation of essence between the Father and Son. He calls it "God," his "Logos," and "his Wisdom." The genuineness of the passage in Theophilus has been much questioned.‡

Athenagoras was an Athenian philosopher, who became a convert to Christianity about A. D. 150. After repelling the charge of atheism, he speaks thus in his Apology to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus. "The Son of God is the first birth of the Father; not as if created, since the eternal God, who was from eternity possessed of reason, had the Logos in himself; but he went forth as the formative principle (idea) and the activity of the formless nature of material things, and of the holy spirit which worked in the prophets. We say, it is an efflux of God going forth and returning back, like a ray of the sun."§ "The Son is the reason of God in idea and in activity, by whom and through whom all things were cre-

\* Apol. p. 64.

† Ad Autol. § 15. p. 360.

‡ See Münscher, I. p. 431, 439. Martini, p. 63, note. Theophilus too first uses the expressions "ἐνδιθετός" and "προπογοικός" as applied to the Logos. Ad Autol. Lib. II. pp. 355, 365. He expresses also very distinctly the generation of the Logos, thus:—"God, having the Logos "ἐνδιθετός" in his loins, produced him, *belching him out* ("ἐξερύξαμενος") before all things." p. 355. The distinctness with which the passage conveys the idea of generation in time, will perhaps excuse our quoting so gross an expression.

§ Legat. p. 267.

ated. Father and Son are one—the Son in the Father and the Father in the Son in the unity and power of the Spirit. The Son of God is the mind and reason of the Father.”\* This is a beautiful statement, but there is no personality ascribed to the Logos. Still less should we expect to find it ascribed to the Holy Spirit. Münscher calls Athenagoras a Sabellian.

Leaving him, we will pass to Irenæus; and here we enter the portals of mystery. He was Bishop of Lyons about A. D. 177. His writings show that he was rather a weak man. He was in the worst position, too, for a weak man, as he undertook to refute the Gnostics. This circumstance will explain his bungling statements, which are inexplicable not from an indistinctness of words, so much as from his stating all things contradictory in equally strong language. In arguing against the Gnostics, two points were of main importance;—first, to escape their *emanation* theory; secondly, to make our Saviour corporeally a man. Irenæus is first very severe upon all those who attempt to illustrate divine mysteries by symbols, as rays of light, trees, and the like. He goes farther, and is very severe upon all who presume to speculate at all about such matters, as did the Gnostics. Such mysteries are not to be tried by reason, but to be received with implicit trust. O that he had held to this! We find him trying to escape the emanation theory by such expressions as these, which make the Logos nothing more than the reason of God, without personality:—“God is wholly mind, wholly Logos—his thought is his Logos—and his Logos is his mind, and the all-embracing mind is the Father himself.”† Again:‡—“this is the Father, this is God. He created by himself, that is, by his Logos and his Wisdom, heaven and earth.” He now begins to distinguish between the Son and the Father. He expressly exalts “God the Father, the supreme Ruler, above his Son who has *received* from his Father the dominion over all creatures.”§ He speaks of double birth—the glorious generation from the Father, and the glorious generation from the Virgin.|| He ascribes to the Son the

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\* Legat. p. 286, 287.

† Iren. Adver. Hæres. II. 28. 5. ed. Massuet. Conf. II. 13. p. 130.

‡ Ib. II. 30. p. 163. § Ib. III. 6. 1. p. 180. || Ib. III. 19. 2. p. 212.

divine apparitions in the Old Testament.\* He says the Logos must have become man in order to be the head over all visible and material things.† On Psalm xlv. 7, "Therefore hath God anointed thee," the anointer and the anointed, he remarks, are "two distinct persons, both called God."‡ In all these passages the Logos is represented as a proper person. The Gnostics, however, had said that the Logos had a beginning. In defiance of all consistency, the assertion must be met. Irenæus therefore calls the Logos the eternal King,§ and gives him eternal cœexistence with the Father,|| attributes to him the creation and government of the world, and also an immediate supernatural influence upon men and things.¶ Nevertheless the unity of God must be preserved, and although the Logos be God and true God, he is still a subordinate being. Irenæus calls the Son "servant and agent," to whom power is *committed*.\*\* "The great God could not become visible to men, for this would degrade the Supreme One."†† He cites Mark xiii. 32, "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, neither the Son;" and John xiv. 28, "The Father is greater than I," to prove the inferiority of the Son.‡‡

Irenæus was more successful in establishing the point against the Gnostics, that Christ was a man. On this point he deems it his duty to castigate the poor Nazarenes. His doctrine of hypostatical union evidently corresponded with Justin's. Christ had a living body, but the place of the intelligent mind, the soul, the reason, was supplied by the Logos,§§ the Logos assuming a body and an *animal* soul. This was much like Arianism. In opposition to the Gnostics, he also maintained with Justin that the Logos properly suffered. Irenæus drew his illustrations mainly from the Scriptures, which he interpreted in the most extravagant style of allegory.

If the conceptions of Irenæus are dim, in approaching Clement of Alexandria, A. D. 220, we find ourselves in a "land of darkness, as darkness itself." Critics give up the attempt to reconcile his utterances. Münscher says,

\* Iren. IV. 10. 1. p. 239. † Ib. III. 16. 6. ‡ Ib. III. 6. 1. p. 180.

§ Ib. III. 12. || Ib. II. 30. p. 163. II. 25. 2. p. 153. III. 18. p. 209. IV. 20. 1.

¶ Ib. IV. 6. 7. p. 235. III. 16. p. 306. IV. 17. 18. V. 2.

\*\* Ib. III. 8. 3. p. 183. IV. 7. 4. p. 236. †† Ib. IV. 20. 7. p. 255.

‡‡ Ib. II. 28. 6. 8. p. 158, 159. §§ Ib. V. 1. 3. p. 293. frag. p. 347.

"Whoever wishes to establish a theory by the assenting testimony of antiquity, will have small trouble with Clement." One thing is worth noting about this Father. Though prevailingly dark, in him is distinctly seen the influence of Heathen philosophy in bringing out the doctrine of the Trinity. Clement was a scholar, and revered the Pagan wisdom. In the philosophers and poets of antiquity he discerned already the germs of Christianity. He had studied profoundly and enthusiastically the ancient lore of Greece. He loved to wrap himself in mystery after the Eleusinian fashion, partly perhaps to dazzle his pupils, partly to make them reflect. In blinding them, he must have succeeded. His mind was filled with much learning, but altogether undigested; hence his mystification.

Without endeavoring to mark out every shade of meaning in Clement's words, which would be useless as well as tedious, we will attempt to convey a general idea of his thought. Though he calls the Son the true God,\* he makes him clearly an inferior being. He distinguishes the uncreated, only true God from the Logos, by making the latter join in a universal song of praise with angels and men.† He says that the Son, although Lord over all, serves the will of the Almighty Father, is *through the pleasure* of God the author of all good,‡ and that from the Son we ascend to the absolute Cause of all, etc.§ But while thus subordinating the Logos, he exalts him far above the earlier Fathers' imaginations. This is a remarkable passage: — "On earth man is the noblest being. In heaven, the angels, who enjoy a higher, purer blessedness. But the most perfect, holiest, highest, lordliest and most regal nature is the Son's, who approaches nearest the universal Monarch. It rules everything according to the will of the Father. The Son of God never deserts his superintendence. He is never divided, never sundered, wanders not from place to place. He is all-pervading — unlimited — all eyes — all-seeing — all-hearing — all-knowing — through his power trying all power. To him is the whole host of angels and Gods submitted, in accordance with the Divine economy." ||

\* Cohortatio ad Gentes, I. c. 10. pp. 84, 86. Pædagog. I. c. 2. p. 99. ed. Potter.

† Protrep. p. 92. ‡ Pædag. I. 2. p. 99. Strom. VI. pp. 832, 833.

§ Strom. VI. pp. 833, 834.

|| Strom. VII. 7. p. 831.

Clement makes the Logos a distinct person, subordinate to the Supreme Father; yet calls him "true God"—clearly ascribes to him Divine attributes—says he existed before all time ("πρὸ αἰώνων")—prays to him\*—and leaves his readers to make what they can out of such contradictory language.

Of the Holy Spirit Clement speaks less, and less distinctly. He often celebrates the Father, Son and Spirit in the same strain; whence we may infer, that he considered the Spirit to be Divine—perhaps a person, though this is by no means clear.

Clement, in his idea of the hypostatic union with Christ, differed in a peculiar manner from the earlier Fathers.† Justin and Irenæus had held that Christ as a man was possessed of a body animated with physical life, the Logos supplying the place of intelligence and reason. Clement, instead of coming nearer to a union of two natures in Christ, allows him as man nothing but a body, excluding the idea even of an animal soul; intelligence, mind and the informing vital principle being supplied by the Logos. The Logos assumed a real body as to form and substance, but free from all impurity, fit for the dwelling of God. He felt no want. He ate, but not for his need; he drank, but not to quench his thirst. He was passionless, experiencing neither pleasure nor pain.‡ Clement's conception of the hypostatical union was fast preparing the way for the doctrine of the Son's supreme divinity,—a doctrine which, as others have also remarked, grew out of the denial of his human nature.

Passing from Clement to Origen, A. D. 230, we are involved in still deeper mystery. One thing is certain, that while the nature and relations of the Logos are more confused and elevated, he is yet most clearly a distinct and subordinate person. One passage will throw some light upon this.§ "If," says he, "Celsus had comprehended this, 'I and the Father are one,' and this other, said by the Son in his prayer, 'As I and thou are one,' he would not have supposed that we worship other than the supreme

\* Pæd. III. 12. p. 311. Strom. VII. 12. p. 875.

† Cohort. 10. 86. Pæd. I. 5. p. 111.

‡ Strom. VI. 9. p. 775.

§ Contr. Celsum. VIII. 12. pp. 750, 751. ed. de la Rue.



God. For the Father, he says, 'is in me, and I in the Father.' But if from this, any one fears that we are of those who deny that the Father and Son are two hypostases, let him by this, 'And in all the believers there was one heart and one spirit,' explain the 'I and my Father are one.' " "We worship therefore the true Father and the true Son, two as to hypostasis, but one in concurrence and identity of will." The Father begat the Son, but in no human fashion; "the generation of the Son of God was eternal and sempiternal, as splendor is generated of light."\* In this the eternal generation of the Son is clearly stated.

Origen seems to have considered the Son as in some sense an emanation from the Father; and in illustration of this he uses the simile of vapor, and makes Christ *homo-ousian*, of the same nature, with the Father. Thus, "the Father did not exist before him in time, but was the fountain of his existence. For this reason the Son is wholly dependent upon the Father.†" In speaking of the Father he uses the article, (*ὁ θεός*;) in speaking of the Son he omits it, (*θεός*;) thus as it were making him a second God, inferior to the Supreme. Origen ascribes Divine power to the Son, though in an inferior sense, if we may so speak. The Father has power over all, "and even he, who now is not subjected to the Father, will one day be subjected, when everything has been subjected to him."‡ "God is; and inferior to the Father is the Son. For he is second to the Father. So that greater is the power of the Father than of the Son, and the power of the Son than of the Holy Spirit."§ "The Son created the world, but only as the second builder; the head workman, commanding the Son, being God."|| From Origen's darkness we may gather, that he regarded the Son as of the same nature with the Father, though numerically they were two.

On the human nature of Christ, Origen's opinion may be ascertained with some clearness. He bitterly reproves those who deny that Christ was a real man, but warns us not to make him a mere man. For our Saviour was also God,—this he asserts in numerous passages. He was

\* De Princip. I. 2. 4.

† Contr. Cels. VI. 17. p. 643.

‡ De Prin. III. 5. 7. p. 151.

§ De Prin. I. 3. 5. p. 62.

|| Contr. Cels. VI. 60. p. 678.

therefore both God and man.\* Origen was conscious of the difficulty of explaining this relation. "The narrowness of human intellect stops, and oppressed by the stupendous thought, wavers in its conception. If he deems him God, he sees him man; if he deems him man, he describes him returning in triumph from the dead."† From his miracles and his humbleness, his divine majesty and his mortal body, he calls him "perfect God" and "perfect man," and predicates of him a human intelligence and body — perfect manhood. Of the body of Christ he asserts that it was no delusion, as the Docetæ maintained. It was human as coming from a woman — made of mortal stuff — obnoxious to mortal wounds and to death — an earthly body, of no "form or comeliness." The soul of Christ (anima) was in kind and substance a human soul. It was the bond of union between the mortal body and the divine Logos. "For," said he, "it could not be, that the nature of God should mingle immediately with a body." "And nothing hinders," saith Origen, "that the mind of Jesus should have been united with the Logos in the highest and most excellent communion." Some qualities or offices are given to the Divine nature, and some are peculiar to the human. Thus, the Son of God is said to have died, in regard to his mortal nature, "but you will see no Christian, even among the simplest, who would say, that the 'truth,' or the 'life,' or the 'way,' or the 'living bread' which came down from heaven,' or the 'resurrection,' died."‡ Grief of spirit and temptation belonged to his human nature. The Logos humbled itself to our low natures, to lead men from low to high. He ridicules the idea of the Logos suffering change in coming into a human nature.

Origen believed in the præexistence of human souls.§ He believed that the efficacy of Christ extended to spiritual beings.¶ The Logos was in Moses, the prophets, and angels. From which we may infer Origen's meaning to

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\* Contr. Cels. II. 8. p. 391. De Princ. I. 2. 1. p. 53.

† De Princip. VI. 1. 2. p. 89.

‡ Contr. Cels. IV. 15. p. 511. Ib. VII. 16. p. 705.

§ See passages cited by Guericke, p. 233. "De Scholæ. Alex. Catechet. Theologia."

¶ Homil. XII. in Luc. Vol. III. p. 945.

have been something like this ; — in its pręexistent state, the soul of Christ by moral purity and elevation became thoroughly filled with the Logos, of whom all souls partake in proportion to the love they bear him. He would not, however, say that the Divine nature was also human, or that the human nature of Christ was Divine.

Of the Holy Spirit Origen affirms, that it is a distinct person, eternally begotten of the Father through the Son, and superior to all that the Son has made.\* It is therefore inferior to the Son, that is, inferior in power.† Whether he held the Holy Spirit to be truly God, is uncertain. He did address prayer to the Spirit as a Divine being.‡

Of the Trinity Origen's account may be this. The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three distinct persons, diverse indeed in dignity, but of the same Divine nature. This unity of essence, however, particularly in regard to the Holy Spirit, was less clearly set forth, both Son and Spirit being viewed as generated by the will of the Father.

We believe this summary of Origen's views to be correct. It is as comprehensive as our space will allow. In regard to the doctrine of eternal generation, as well as of the hypostatical union, Origen reasoned more like a philosopher than a theologian, as is evident from his metaphysical cast of argument and illustration throughout. If to a logical mind his conceptions and words are contradictory, for that we are not responsible. The earlier Fathers generally entertained the contradictory ideas of the Logos, — that it was at the same time an attribute of God, and a distinct proper person. Whether they held this belief thus nakedly stated, we are not concerned at this time to determine.

Having examined the principal Greek Fathers, we come now to the most distinguished among the Latins ; and Tertullian must be the first questioned. Tertullian wrote at Carthage, in the latter part of the second and the beginning of the third century. He was a dark, obscure, rough, and somewhat fiery writer, full of barbarous splendor. We can gather from his writings no very clear conception of his opinions. Such as we have been able to collect, we give.

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\* De Princ. II. 2. 1. p. 79.

† De Princ. I. 3. 5. p. 62.

‡ Homil. I. 1. in Levit. Vol. II. p. 185.

On the whole his ideas seem not far removed from Justin's, and those of other earlier Fathers.

"Before all was God alone — himself the universe — alone; for without him existed nothing. Still he was not wholly alone, for he had with him intelligence. For God is an intelligent Spirit. This intelligence is the Divine Mind. The Greeks call it Logos."\* This Logos, he held, was begotten in time, and became a distinct being before the creation. Hermogenes said, — God was always Lord; a Lord must have a lordship; therefore matter is eternal. This Tertullian denies. "God was always God, but Lord was he never before the universe began to be. So is God, Father; but he was not always Father, because always God. He could not have been Father, until there was a Son. Now there was a time when the Son was not in existence."† The Son was an efflux from God, begotten to create the world. The *substance* of the Son and Father are the same; as the ray from the sun — light from light — spirit from spirit. The Logos first took form when God said, "Let there be light," and became a separate existence, a real substance, because everything that goes out from the most excellent Substance must be substance.‡ The Son was entirely subordinated to the Father. Tertullian calls him the second after God — an efflux. He was not of himself God, but God only so far as he proceeded forth from the Divine substance. He prayed to the Father — was ignorant of the last day and hour — had *received* all power and majesty.§ But more than this, the Son was visible, while the Father by nature was invisible. "How absurd"! exclaims Tertullian, "the omnipotent, invisible, highest God, walking in paradise in search of Adam — shutting up Noah's ark — sitting with Abraham under an oak, etc. We would not believe it of the Son, did not the Holy Scriptures say it; we would not believe it of the Father, if they did."|| Again, he says that the titles, Almighty, Lord of hosts, etc. are applied to the Son only as holding power from the Father.

Perhaps we have said enough, to show that Tertullian made the Son a distinct, inferior being. We will cite one

\* Adv. Prax. c. V. p. 197.

† Contr. Hermog. c. 9. T. II. p. 82.

‡ Adv. Prax. p. 201.

§ Adv. Prax. c. 26. p. 254.

|| Adv. Prax. c. 16. pp. 228, 229.

passage more to reconcile this idea with the unity of God. "God brought forth the Logos, as the root brings forth the trunk, the fountain the wave, the sun the beam of light. As little as the trunk is separated from the root, or the wave from the fountain, so little is the Son from God. God and the Logos are two, but united as trunk and root. The third is the Spirit, which springs from God and the Son, as the fruit from the root and the stem."\* The Logos made revelations to the prophets, and united itself with the man Jesus. On this point Tertullian is very obscure. In some passages he seems to make Christ spirit and flesh, without a human soul.† In others he clearly ascribes to him a human soul.‡ He speaks with no precision, or clearness, of the sufferings of the Logos. The Son was one with the Father in concurrence of will, in the relation of love and perfect obedience. Of the eternal generation of the Son, his eternal personality, and numerical unity with God, Tertullian says nothing.

The Holy Spirit Tertullian regarded as a person, drawing his existence from the Father and the Son. This he proves from the form of baptism.§ Tertullian's Trinity may be thus stated: — Father, Son and Spirit are one, and yet three. "They are three, not in quality (nature,) but in rank; not in substance, but in form; not in power, but in manifestation. There is but one substance, quality, and power, as there is but one God, from whom are deduced these gradations, forms and manifestations, under the names, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."|| Here the Godhead is three-fold — as persons. Take away the proper personality, and simple unity remains. The personality is secondary. The Deity is by no means three in the sense in which he is one. This singular statement will be more easily apprehended, when we consider that Tertullian conceived of spirit as material, and ascribed a body to God. According to this the Father, Son, and Spirit were of the same subtle essence, to which as Son and as Spirit certain accidental properties might attach without impairing its unity. By removing these accidental properties there remains the simple unity of subtle essence, the Trinity

\* Adv. Prax. c. 8. pp. 204, 205.

† Adv. Prax. c. 27. De Resurrect. Car. c. 53.

‡ De Carne Christi. c. II.

§ Adv. Prax. c. 26.

|| Id. c. 2.

being quite a distinct thing from the unity ; the proper personality depending upon the will of the supreme God, who by begetting becomes the Father. For Tertullian would say, — ‘ take away proper personality from the Son and the Holy Spirit, and there is no Son or Holy Spirit — there is no Father — but only the eternally existing God ; for all three, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, depend upon accidental circumstances and properties.’ This is no Trinity.

A little after the middle of the third century, Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, wrote against Sabellianism. His opinions are with difficulty ascertained, as his works are lost, and he lives only through the accounts of Athanasius and Basilus. Against Sabellius he in one passage writes thus : — “ The Son of God was made and created. His substance is distinct from the substance of the Father. The Father stands to him in the relation of a ship-builder to his vessel. Being a creature, he was not before he was created.”\* Again : “ God was not always Father ; the Son was not always. For the highest God was once without the Logos, and the Son was not before he was created.”† But this is blank Arianism. To explain himself out of which, he uses the simile of words uttered from within through the mouth. “ The inward Logos, intelligence, remains the same, but that word has *gone out*. The inward and the outward Logos are distinct, and yet one. Intelligence and speech are distinct from each other, and yet not wholly so. The intellect frames the speech, and the speech makes perceptible the intelligence.”‡ Comprehend this, if we can ; the Alexandrians could not. They detested Sabellianism, but they saw little to choose between it and Dionysius’s mixture of Arius and the earlier Fathers.

Their complaints reached Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 255 — 269. The African Bishops would have it, that Dionysius denied eternal existence to the Son, and, in their enthusiasm, they made very evidently two Gods, and thus were undermining the very foundation of their religion. The poor Bishops had no idea what they were saying. Dionysius of Rome rejects Sabellianism as a godless heresy — rejects the opinion of the African Bishops as bitheism —

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\* Apol. Athan. c. 1. p. 246.

† Ib. p. 253.

‡ Ib. c. 1. p. 259, seq.

rejects the idea of the Alexandrine Dionysius, that the Son was created. He seems to have held that the Son was a proper, distinct being — dependent upon the Father, and yet eternal — begotten, not created. His view appears to have coincided nearly, if not entirely, with the doctrine of the Nicene Council.

There is a good deal of difficulty in getting at the precise opinions of these two men. They are of no very great importance, except as showing how much the several statements concerning the Logos depended upon the merest disputation, and were made only in opposition to the arguments of adversaries. Probably all the Fathers would have taken different grounds, had their opponents occupied different positions. This is rather an unsafe foundation for such a doctrine as the Trinity.

Novatian, A. D. 256, wrote against Sabellianism, and his opinions are in consequence somewhat confused. He held the Father alone to be without origin — immeasurable — immortal — and one. From him, *when he willed*, his Son, the Word, was begotten — not strictly created. This Son is to be regarded as a self-subsisting power, produced from the Father. He was from all time in the Father; and yet the Father, being uncreated or unoriginated, was before the Son, who was originated. The Son does nothing of his own will or counsel, but is obedient to the commands of the Father, they being one in concurrence of will. The Logos in Novatian's view was a distinct person — begotten according to God's will — bearing the same essential relation to God, that a man does to his earthly parents. He was exalted above all angels, and yet was far below the Father, as borrowing existence, perfection, etc. from him. Novatian thus escapes Sabellianism by asserting the Son's proper personality, and Arianism by asserting his existence in the Father, before he was by a special act of volition begotten as the Logos.\* The peculiar nature of the Son's existence and generation is known only to the Father and Son. On the hypostatic union, Novatian seems to have entertained the same views with the earlier Fathers, in which there was nothing resembling a double nature in Christ.

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\* See Works, chap. xxxi, p. 740, etc.

In the beginning of the fourth century Arnobius wrote against the Heathen objectors. "You worship," said they, "a crucified man." To this Arnobius answered, "Were this true, still, for his marvellous blessings upon the human race, he would merit the title, God. But he is God in a far higher sense; God in fact — God in his inward power — sent upon the earth by the supreme Ruler of all things, with the weightiest message." \* The Deity of Christ, Arnobius proves from his miracles. "Christ," he says, "is the exalted God (*Deus sublimis*), God from the very root (*radice ab intima*), sent as the God-Saviour from the supreme Ruler to us." † Still the Logos is subordinate. The expressions, "Almighty God," "Supreme Overseer," "Boundless Ruler of the Universe," which he applies to God, he never applies to Christ. Christ, with all this Divine majesty, depends upon the will of the supreme God.‡ Of the relation of Christ to the Father, Arnobius says little. On the question of the hypostatic union, he seems to have considered the Logos to have assumed merely a human body, in order to become perceptible to men's senses. 'But could not a God,' urged his adversaries, 'carry on his plans here without assuming a human form?' 'Had it been possible, it would have been so,' says our philosopher; 'but how could an invisible, bodiless form become perceptibly related to men — a thing essential to the accomplishment of his work?' 'But he was murdered like a man.' 'Nay,' says Arnobius the Platonist, 'the Divine cannot die; neither can that which is simple be destroyed; only the man he assumed, hung on the cross and died. "If the Sybil, who prophesies according to you Heathen, should be slain, could you say, because Apollo inspires her, that he was slain?"' § This is a remarkable instance of a man so near the Council of Nice, holding nothing resembling the later doctrine of two natures in Christ. It was the aim of Arnobius, to establish the Divine nature of Christ against Heathen objectors, which accounts for his imperfect and loose notion of his human nature.

The views of Lactantius, the last of the Ante-Nicene

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\* *Adv. Gent. Lib. I. p. 19. seq. p. 24. ed. Lugd. 1651.*

† *Ib. Lib. I. p. 32.*

‡ *Ib. Lib. II. pp. 85, 96, 97.*

§ *Ib. Lib. I. pp. 37, 38.*



Fathers, upon the hypostatic union, are somewhat vague. Christ, in his view, was both God and man, but, if we may make the inference, neither perfect God nor perfect man. He was not perfect God, because he was begotten in time; nor perfect man, for he had but one parent. The supreme God was fatherless and motherless. So must the Son be. Lactantius therefore supposes two births; first, by the Father alone; and second, by the mother alone. Christ was thus by the Spirit the son of God, by the flesh the son of man; that is, both God and man. In other points of opinion Lactantius seems not to have been very peculiar. The Son did not exist from eternity, — was absolutely inferior to the Father, by whose will he came into being, and with whom by concurrence of will he was united.\* Lactantius's account of his generation is singularly gross. God is conceived of as a huge being, breathing through his nostrils. Of this breath, silent and pervading, angels and inferior spirits are formed. But the Son is the word, coming out with powerful sound from the mouth, more powerful than the silent breath, though essentially the same.† He also likens the procession of the Son to the flowing of a stream from its fountain.

Lactantius probably got his main ideas from Tertullian, and perhaps held the same views with him upon the hypostatic union, if indeed either he or Tertullian knew precisely what their own views were. For the rest of his orthodoxy, Lactantius seems to have been indebted to Hermes Trismegistus and the Sybilline Oracles.

On reviewing the course of thought along which we have been led, we are struck with this circumstance. The doctrine of the Deity of Jesus Christ was handed down by no tradition, was transmitted in no one consistent form through the Church Fathers, but was developed gradually, and entirely by means of the "doubtful disputations" of human ignorance and contest. Next to this in influence was the ever condensing philosophy, which filled the minds of the ablest men, like Clement and Origen. And lastly, the reproach of the cross. Still, up to this time we have no Trinity, — no bitheism even. The Logos is always an infe-

\* Instit. Divin. Lib. IV. c. 8, 9. pp. 446—451. ed. Bänemann. IV. c. 12. p. 482.

† Ib. Lib. IV. c. 26. p. 25.

rior being. There is nothing like the doctrine of a double nature in Christ distinctly held ; and eternal generation was maintained only by Origen, and perhaps one or two of his disciples.

Thus stood the doctrine of the Trinity a few years before the Council of Nice. No individual can be charged with holding anything like its later logical, or illogical, statement by the Church.

Trains of thought, however, which had been mainly instrumental in pushing on the speculations concerning the Logos thus far, continued their pressure, until the work was done by the Council of Nice ; which brought down the concentrated force of the Church, to crush notions which it might have accepted without compromising its dignity or impairing its claim to mental soundness.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers had always indignantly repelled the charge of bitheism, but yet had not hesitated to call Christ God, and had ascribed to him more or less of the Divine attributes. They escaped this charge, generally, by making the unity between Christ and his Father consist in unity of will. This excuse seemed a slight one, and men arose who proposed different solutions of the problem of the Messiah's nature. One class, to whom belonged Theodotus and Artemon, held that Christ was a mere man. This party never figured largely in the history of the early Church. There was another, that became more famous, to which belonged Praxeas, Noetus, Sabellius, and Paul of Samosata. Sabellius rejected the idea of three hypostases, and maintained that Father, Son and Holy Spirit were only different names for different modes of the Divine operation. The sun, he said, is one hypostasis, and has three modes of operation, or three departments of manifestation — light, warmth, and its round form. The form or body is the Father, the light is the Son, the warmth is the Holy Spirit. This illustration forced the Orthodox Fathers to express more distinctly their view of the proper personality of the Logos ; which made way for a dissension that shook the whole Church.

According to the Alexandrino-Platonic philosophy, the Logos, as the divine reason, was as eternal as God, God being in himself perfect intelligence ; and only by generation before the creation of the world did he become an

hypostasis and have a beginning. It could hardly be said, then, that there had been a time when the Son was not in existence, since God can never be destitute of reason. From this statement the existence of the Son might seem to arise from an absolute necessity, not from an act of the Father's will. The Son would be, therefore, in his essence the supreme God, but in his generation a subordinate, distinct being. But generation could not destroy his essence, and therefore logically it might appear as if God were at once himself and something else — at the same time, supreme and subordinate, — which is absurd.

According to the Gnostic Rabbinical emanation theory, the Son was not from eternity, and his efflux from the supreme God was not of necessity. The Son was not God, but a God; not eternal, but made in time.

From contact between these two systems sprang the Arian controversy. Arius was presbyter at Alexandria, in the beginning of the fourth century. As a representative of the Gnostic system, we must say that he differed materially from their idea of emanations. Arius started from the point of the Son's generation, and said that the Son was created like other angelic beings. He existed before all time, that is, before the creation of the world; but not from eternity, for there was a time when he did not exist. He was formed by the will of God, and like everything out of God, was created from nothing. He was not of the same substance (*ὁμοουσιος*) with the Father, but of inferior essence — the first spirit next to God. The followers of Arius modified this view in various ways, one class taking the name of Heterousians or Eunomians, another class being called Homoiousians or Semi-Arians. The three great points between Arius and Bishop Alexander were first, whether the Son had any commencement of existence; secondly, whether he was created out of nothing, like any other creature, or whether he derived his being from the Father's essence; thirdly, whether he was generated by the free will of the Father, or by a necessity of his nature. Alexander and Athanasius, — the former, Bishop, the latter, a deacon, of Alexandria, — were the strongest opponents of Arius, whose doctrines were condemned by the Council of Nice, A. D. 325; at which it was established, that Christ, the Son, was "begotten, not made," and "begotten of the

essence of the Father" — "God of God — Light of Light — very God of very God — consubstantial with the Father." At this time, however, the famous word "*ὁμοουσιος*," consubstantial, probably denoted simply the oneness of essence in the Father and the Son, and did not refer to numerical unity. Of the Holy Ghost, nothing was determined by this Council.

But from the Council of Nice another difficulty arose. The earliest Fathers had considered the Logos as suffering in Christ. Arius also, who with the ancient Fathers held that the Logos supplied the place of a human intellect in Christ, and was created, found no difficulty in this view. But in the Nicene statement a difficulty soon manifested itself on this point, as the sufferings of the Son seemed to imply the sufferings of the Father. The idea of a double nature not yet being fully apprehended, this matter was to be decided; but Apollinaris, in attempting a definition, came very close upon Arianism. In A. D. 381, another Council was held at Constantinople, in which it was decreed, that Christ was not only perfect God, but perfect man also, and possessed of a rational soul. Thus was the doctrine of a double nature in Christ established.

Still the relation of these two natures to each other remained to be defined, and the doctrine of communication of properties was resorted to. Absurdities were heaped upon absurdities. Blasphemy, bribery, and open violence disgraced and darkened the infallible councils of the Holy Church for nearly a century. Malice, envy and hate fought and blustered about the union of the Divine and the human in Christ, until Satan had driven both Divine and human out of all their natures. At the Council at Chalcedon, A. D. 451, it was solemnly decided, that the Lord Jesus was possessed of two distinct natures, united without mixture or confusion in one person.

At the time of the Council of Nice, the nature of the Holy Ghost was almost undefined. The Fathers had from the first wavered in their conceptions on this point, and Arius himself was as orthodox as anybody on a point on which as yet there had been no heterodoxy. It would require some space and some acuteness to trace out the precise time at which the Holy Spirit was invested with supreme Divinity, and to discover the means by which it

attained such an elevation. Until after the Council of Nice, orthodox and heterodox seemed equally indifferent about it. The very orthodox Hilary held the Holy Spirit to be merely Divine power, called it a gift of God, and the like,\* while the heterodox Cyril of Jerusalem conceived of it as a person, Divine and incomprehensible, through whom angels and archangels derive their holiness, as higher than a servant, etc.† This will serve to show the little consequence attached to it in the middle of the fourth century. Such a state of opinion in regard to this point might have continued much longer, had not Athanasius been still living. This keen, bitter theologian, seeming to think his victory over the Arians incomplete, determined to exalt the Holy Spirit to equal dignity with the Son. This was no easy undertaking among conscientious men. The doctrine was cautiously introduced by such men as Gregory Nazianzen and Basilus the Great. Their proofs were not so numerous as their opponents; and as the latter appeared to have entirely the advantage, the plan for deifying the Holy Spirit seemed far from being accomplished.

The Emperor Constantius had exerted his power against the prevalence of the Nicene Creed. His successor Julian was pleased with the Christian wrangling, and let both sides have fair play. Forthwith Hilary and Athanasius busied themselves to make up for lost time, and the contest was hotly waged. On the death of Julian, (A. D. 363,) the Orthodox party came into favor under Jovian, and Athanasius used all diligence in hastening the accomplishment of his great purpose. Jovian, however, died in 364, and the Western Empire fell to Valentinian, an advocate of Orthodoxy, but tolerant to the Arians and disposed to protect them from harm. Valens, in the East, was a hot Arian, and persecuted the Orthodox as well as Semi-Arians. In the meantime Athanasius died. But his fierce intolerance was still warm in his followers. In A. D. 375, the Western Bishops held a conference in Illyricum, and decided that Father, Son and Holy Spirit were *homoousian*, and uttered anathema against all who refused to accept this as a point of belief. Soon after this, Valentinian died, and in A. D. 378, Valens, the Arian, died also, in a fight with

\* Hilary. De Trinit. Lib. XII. 5.

† Cyril. Catech. XVI. 3, 4, 23.

the Goths. Now "the Catholic faith" became triumphant. In A. D. 380, Theodosius published an edict for the establishment of the true faith. In A. D. 381, he summoned the great Council at Constantinople, at which additions were made to the Nicene Creed,—in the article of the Son, that he was "begotten before all ages,"—and by this article on the Holy Ghost,— "And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and Son, who together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified, who spoke by the prophets." This, however, was not the Trinity. The contest was by no means ended. In A. D. 383, Theodosius called a Council at Constantinople of the leaders of the conflicting parties, in order to effect a reconciliation, but it was of no avail.

Civil power, the authority of an imposing belief, and divisions among the Arians themselves, threw the supremacy into the hands of the other party, who were by degrees, slowly but surely, building up the doctrine they seemed pledged to uphold. The struggle went on, from country to country, and from city to city,—Church against Church—Bishop against Bishop—Emperors, ecclesiastics, Huns, Christianized Goths, or rather Vandalized Christians, fighting and cursing, pell-mell together. At length, somewhere about the commencement of the fifth century, it was proclaimed to the world in most remarkable language, that God is not one, but three. The doctrine that had thus been forming for so many ages, at length was plainly stated in the form of a "Creed;" which, though falsely, bore the name of Athanasius. Its author is not known. It made its appearance from some dark corner, as suited its character, and after a considerable lapse of time was received as the faith of the Roman Catholic Church. It was accepted in France about the middle of the ninth century; in Spain and Germany, still later; at Rome about A. D. 1014. It has been set to music, and was chanted in the English churches in the tenth century:—

"Whoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith.

"Which faith except every one do keep entire and inviolate, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

"Now, the Catholic faith is this; that we worship one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity."

O. E. F.

## ART. VI. — MILLERISM.

ANY observer of human nature can see that the knowledge of any future event makes an impression deeper and stronger in proportion to the uncertainty of the time of its coming. If men can ascertain the precise day and hour when it is to arrive, they neglect and delay all preparation for it, and it comes unprovided for at last. Since it is so with men, God reserves the knowledge of times and seasons to himself: but not to assert his own sovereignty and humble human pride; it is rather in merciful consideration to human infirmity, in order to place man in the condition most favorable to spiritual improvement and the right discharge of duty. For the certainty that preparation must be made, taken in connexion with the uncertainty of the time, gives just enough of assurance and leaves just enough of mystery to have the deepest influence on the heart. And yet, certain as it is that the arrangements of Divine Providence are kind, and idle as it is to attempt to gather by underhand means from the Scriptures what they were never intended to disclose, there are those who are constantly biting the chains of nature, and endeavoring to search out what even the Saviour himself acknowledged that he did not know.

The time when the world shall end, has been a subject of special interest to such persons, as if it had some connexion with their religious duty. The language of all prophecy favors these fanciful investigations: it is always full of suggestion, figurative and glowing, well suited, and probably meant to excite the imagination to living action, and through that avenue to reach the mind and heart. The prophet's eye kindles as he looks into the dark rolling clouds that cover the future; shadows pass before him, life-like indeed, but undefined, and though he feels their presence, he cannot discern their form. He describes the vision, or rather his own emotions, in language dim and magnificent, and the broad landscape of the future is spread out at once in darkness and in light;—nothing can be surer than the event, and at the same time nothing more uncertain than the time when it is to be.

In a very early age the Christians borrowed, or rather brought with them, the Hebrew fancy of a millennium; for

the Jews believed that their Messiah, when he took possession of his throne on earth, should reign a thousand years in happiness and glory. Through all those days of suffering and blood in which the foundations of the religion were laid, it was the relief of the afflicted Christians to anticipate the time when every knee should bow to him whose right it was to reign, and his persecuted followers should be lifted from the dust. Many a time in the Christian history has this vision been indulged. Often has the time been fixed, but the hour has arrived and brought no change with it ; casting only a momentary chill, however, upon the hopeful propensities of mankind, since in every succeeding age the same hope rises, only to set in disappointment and sorrow again.

This taste and tendency on the part of imaginative believers offers a great temptation to those persons, who find their account in flattering human delusion, and who do it without remorse of conscience, since in deceiving others they generally succeed to some extent in imposing upon themselves. Hosts of minor prophets have risen up, sufficiently worldly in their views, but each proclaiming that the end of the world was at hand. They have generally been men utterly incapable of taking just and enlightened views of any subject. Thinking that they perceived some intimations of the kind in Scripture, they have seized upon them as grand discoveries. The imagination always sees its way clear, when the reason is not consulted ; and as they have published their results with some sincerity and abundant self-applause, they have always found enough who were sufficiently ignorant of the Scriptures to believe them. Sometimes a harmless comet, moving quietly on its far-off way, was to break from God's control and dash our earth to pieces ; or some other of the less familiar changes of nature filled men with dismay ; but when the appointed hour arrived, the world moved on in calm indifference through its heavenly circle, and there was not an end even to the follies and delusions in it, for it was but a little while before the same wild fancies were renewed, and after deceiving many to their injury, went heavily down into contempt and darkness again.

There must be a reason why this process can thus be perpetually repeated ; otherwise men would gather some



information from the past. And as we have had the opportunity of tracing the course of one of these hallucinations, we may perhaps be able to say how and why it is, that so many after escaping from one delusion of this kind are so ready to fall into another. The explanation seems to be found in a certain state of mind, in which the opinion originates. The opinion is not the cause, but the effect ; and as, when a person sees things yellow, we send not for a surgeon to operate on his eyes, but for a physician to heal the disorder of his system, these humiliating errors are to be resisted, not by Scriptural interpretation, nor by an exposure of their unsoundness, but by the slower process of correcting the state of mind out of which they grow. It is not so disheartening a labor as many suppose ; at least it is not so discouraging, as to find common sense views utterly powerless, as they are in these cases. Since nothing is accomplished by direct appeal and instruction, all the encouragement there can be, must be found in that alterative process, which sooner or later will reconcile reason and religion in the public mind, and make the divided, one.

That such things are owing to a habit of mind rather than to any mistake of divine instruction, may be seen in the early Christians themselves. It is easy to see in their Epistles the traces of an impression that the end of the world was at hand. They were employed in bearing new and distasteful truths to mankind. New truths are never welcome ; the public mind is so reluctant to admit them, that it always seems to those who preach them, as if they were laboring in vain. It is like a river breaking out from the mountains and running confidently to the deep ; the great sea rises in displeasure, roars and resists, dashing in thunder against it, but at last when the elements have arranged themselves and found their places, submits and takes it in. So every new truth is angrily resisted at first, though at last it finds its best friends in those who were formerly its most vehement opposers. Meantime those to whom the new truth is entrusted, not having the gift of prophecy to see from the beginning to the end, not knowing the calm that will shortly follow, are dismayed and despondent ; and they are in that state of mind which easily generates the feeling, that the end of all things is come.

Still, if it were only sanguine reformers who fall into this gloomy imagination, it could not prevail as extensively as it does; for though the worldly reformers, who ride upon the ascending wheel, are many, those who are truly interested in the enterprise are comparatively few. This discouragement is quite as common in those who are fighting no battle: for, indeed, the soldier when in the battle feels no apprehension; it is only when he rests on his arms, that he gives way to anxiety. People in every condition of life are liable to this despondency: the prosperous, because their energies are not called into living action; the unprosperous, because they give over their exertions: and turning while in this state of mind to the subject of religion, they very easily mistake the coinage of their brain for the revealed truths of the Gospel. It is in such material, that the contagion of these melancholy views has always found it easy to spread, from the birthday of Christianity to the present hour. There is nothing new under the sun. The child asks what is become of the old moon. Why, that golden semicircle which he sees in the west over his left shoulder, is the same which lately hung cold and pale on the forehead of the morning sky. And many of these religious tendencies which seem to us new and strange, are as old as our Saviour's day. So, to our edification, we may see that some of the sects which are most bitter against the church of Rome, are at the same time parading rags of her scarlet dress among their choicest decorations; for the same state of mind reproduces, time after time and generation after generation, the doctrine, opinion, spirit and pretension which seemed to have forever passed away.

It is easy to find anywhere and everywhere that state of mind, out of which Millerism springs; for though the present age has the honor of giving birth to this great expounder of the Scriptures, the state of mind to which this name is given abounds in all generations. We see in the sacred history such a person as the brave and resolute Elijah, becoming despondent even to weariness of life, and feeling as if all things were sinking in ruins, — the very last man whom one would think of as yielding to despair, or wishing to retire from his labor before his work was done. On another page we find Solomon set forth in all his glory, admired and envied by the world, and at the same

time faint and sick in heart. All is uninteresting ; all is vanity ; all goes wrong ; the oppressor tramples down the weak ; the wise have no advantage from their wisdom ; the same end awaits all ; there is no encouragement to effort ; the view of life suggests nothing but sorrow and despair : all which grew out of his prosperity, as it was called. There was no such heart-sinking in Job battling with all manner of trials. And it is worthy of remark, that Elijah never had any such feeling save in the only time of his life when he fled from danger ; he was the bravest of the brave, when he faced the peril and kept the post where he was stationed by his God.

But, leaving these more general illustrations of this tendency of human nature, and coming to that phenomenon of the kind which attracted attention among us by the height of fanaticism to which it rose and the extent to which it spread, Millerism deserves notice as a manifestation on a large scale of this same disease of feeling. As a religious opinion simply, it could not have lived an hour. Nothing could be more senseless than its Scriptural interpretations, nor could they have influenced any mind which was not standing ready to receive them. The idea that the end of the world was at hand, never came from the Scriptures. A certain state of mind which prevailed, carried the idea to the Scriptures and sought confirmation for it there. As the Calvinistic or Methodist or any other religious tendency takes its doctrine with it to the Bible, and thinks that it found it there, did these people of the midnight cry, "What of the night?" Well for them, if they had remembered the calm reply, "The day cometh, and also the night." The wheels of the universe are moving on in their silent order, apparently no nearer the end of their course than when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy.

That such was the origin of the doctrine, may be seen by observing its believers. Those who embraced it were generally persons of unsettled minds and feelings ; disappointed reformers, who had found themselves unable to regenerate the world at once ; religionists, who had broken loose from the systems in which they were trained, and never been rooted and grounded in any other ; men of melancholy temper, who saw everything through the smoked

glass of their own spiritual vision ; timid and credulous persons, who were easily frightened, or flattered, into something which they honored with the name of an opinion ; misanthropic observers of life, to whom all was unprofitable and barren, because the dreariness of their own spirits was thrown over all around. Worthies of this description, of whom there are always enough and to spare, are ready to swell the ranks of the Cassandra party. All the small streams of dissatisfaction, jealousy and gloom gather into one black channel. The disease, of which there were always cases here and there, becomes an epidemic, and the Millerism grows into madness, because it seems to give holy sanction to feelings which otherwise those whom they visit would have been ashamed of, and have endeavored to suppress. It is impossible to deal with these things in their wild excesses ; once in a flame, they must burn themselves out. But it may be well to consider the elements of such prevailing delusions. They are only coarse exaggerations of a common state of mind, which, even though it should not lead, as it often does, to fanaticism or the madhouse, may nevertheless destroy all healthy views of existence, and put an end to all deep faith in God.

Looking then at what more nearly concerns ourselves — at states of mind of the same description, which if indulged may easily lead to insanity, but which are in general restrained and displaced by the efforts, the blessed efforts, which daily cares require, the first which meets us is the Millerism of domestic life. The household is a piece of machinery of delicate construction, requiring cheerful good sense, patient forbearance, and kind attention, to keep it in successful action. If these are wanting, if they are even suspended, what shrieking of wheels and hinges ! how painfully and heavily it moves ! A benevolent and hopeful spirit is the balance, which keeps all in order. Alas ! for the welfare and improvement of the family, where this bright element is wanting. There are trials in domestic life, besetting us in various unsightly forms of vexation, trouble and care. "They come as a cloud, and as doves to their windows." Whoever sees them darkening the sun, is dismayed at their formidable number ; but if he contemplates them singly, he sees that each is but a harmless thing, and often they bring the olive leaf with them.

But unless the energy is summoned up to see them as they are, the feeling may very easily sink into hopeless gloom. The mother, for example, with her thoughtless girl or bold and stormy boys, becomes alarmed at their fierce gladness, still more at their occasional outbursts of passion, and very often, after some explosion of temper, folds her hands in desperation, feeling as if the end of all things was come. In her heart-sinking Millerism, she forgets that they are growing older, and that if, serenely true to her trust, she exerts the silent influence of character and love, these furious passions will tame themselves into strength and determination of spirit, giving force and firmness to their character in future days. But this kind of influence can never be exerted by one who sits down in despair; for this is weakness, and the confession of it. Character is manifested, by looking over the moment's confusion to future results, as the husbandman, when he has done his part, "hath long patience," knowing that God will send the harvest in his own good time. Go thy way then, thou of the sinking heart. Eat thy bread with joy. Do not become a Millerite when the least shadow falls upon the path. The fearful and unbelieving cannot be faithful, and in the Apocalyptic vision we see them sharing the sinner's doom.

Again: there is a Millerism of political life; a dismay and despair coming over us at the success of some opposite party. Whereas, it might be gathered from its very name, that the party is but a part; its efforts and successes are but partial. No one ever was able to give its own full direction to public affairs. One may for the time stand higher and exert a stronger influence than the other, but it is by their joint action, whether working with or against each other, that the machine is caused to go. It is natural enough for the losing side to dread the success of the other, but they might look back on their own history for consolation. Time was when they had their season of triumph; and then they found, like nations after great and glorious battles, that they had gained the victory indeed, but not much else with it, for all went on in a course substantially the same as before. These conflicts and successes attract attention; they are the noise and smoke of the engine; but they are not moving powers; if they could be prevented, the train would do better without them. And mean-

time they are lifted into undue importance, when they lead so many good men to retire in disgust and despair from the field, leaving "lewd fellows of the baser sort" to arrange all things at their own sweet will.

Does not this apprehension indicate the existence of a faith in chance, as a kind of God? Does it not forget, that there are fixed laws in action under all these changes, which deal with these small parties as the great ocean plays with its foam? With all its angry heaving, the deep obeys the law of its tides: and so the waves of the people, however wild and stormy, are working out the purposes of a higher Providence, though they know not what they do. Why can we not understand that parties, while they seem to be doing their own selfish pleasure, are worked up and worked over by an unseen power for accomplishing purposes not their own; which often serves men best, when it most severely disappoints them, and tramples on human wishes, to advance human welfare. Sometimes in darkness, sometimes in light it pursues its resistless way. When we see it plunging into the deep future, "we guess and fear;" but when we look over the former path in which it has travelled, we see that all things have been controlled by a wisdom diviner than ours. Success has always been the sharpest possible retribution to the undeserving, and events and changes which were most disastrous at the time, have been the means of most welcome blessing, and are now the subjects of gratitude and praise.

Again: there is the Millerism of reform. The social world is full of evils, which in their present forms are transmitted from the past, though their springs are found in passions which still exist and have power. Many sharp eyes and fervent hearts are looking into human ways and relations, and while some are found so mixed and blended, that it seems impossible to remove the tares without carrying the wheat with them, there are others which, there is no doubt, endeavors should be made to put away. But then comes the question, How shall we remove and redress them? What practice shall we apply to the disease? One would suppose the answer would be,—let each apply the treatment in which he has most confidence to the cases within his reach, following his own sincere judgment and leaving others to follow theirs. While each pursues his own way,

there is no strife between the two. But when one turns aside from his own work to censure the course of the other, with which he has nothing to do, the disease is forgotten ; the evil has time to breathe, and gather strength ; and each becomes inclined to Millerism, feeling as if the end of all things were at hand. But it is not because the evil is incurable, but because the other will not see with his eyes and hear with his ears, as if unfurnished with eyes and ears of his own. We seldom see any who despair on account of the magnitude of the evil : men despair, because others will not adopt their way to put it down. This is the very thing which they should not wish others to do. That which is right in his own eyes after weighing the subject, should be to each one his law of guidance. And yet when men exercise this privilege and perform this duty, there is discouragement and displeasure ; and hence the cause of the Second Advent found so many believers among the Millerites of reform.

Doubtless, it is no pleasant thing, to see others indifferent to what we consider wonderful truths and disclosures. But let not the reformer distress himself about the mote in the eye of others, unconscious of the timber in his own. It is not the good, which others reject, but only his way of doing it ; and his way may not be worthy of adoption ; or if it should be good, it is quite possible that there may be a better. Many of these reformers, so called, are fond of abusing the Church, and proclaiming its short-comings and misdeeds ; when they are themselves guilty, in a tenfold measure, of that selfish narrowness, which has done more than all other causes put together to lessen the influence of Christianity in the world. The self-same evil which locks the wheels of Christian influence, makes those of reform drive as heavily as the chariots of Pharaoh in the Red Sea. There is no concentration of effort ; no union and singleness of power. The enemy laughs to see them spend against each other those energies, which would have been fatal to him, if united. Let the reformer shake hands with all who wish well to the cause of man, even if they do not follow with him, and for the first time a morning sunbeam of encouragement will shine into his soul. He will see that his discouragement came from within ; he will renounce his Millerism of feeling ; he

will consent that the world shall stand, at least till it shall have accomplished the purposes of its existence; he will see that the Creator was speaking not only of its physical adaptations, but of its moral use and fitness, when he pronounced it "good."

The truth is, that the despondent state of mind can never lead to correct judgment nor to effective action, nor can it possibly comprehend "the lively oracles," since it carries its own darkness to the Scriptures, instead of borrowing light from the word of God. Men bring away from the study of the Bible little more than what they carried with them; and this is the history of most of those dreary superstitions, in which the world abounds. And these are to be met, not with true interpretations only, for they are matters, not of reason, but of diseased feeling. The truth is welcome only to a healthy spirit; but there are so many whose inner sight is darkness, so many who are permitted to have no light except through the key-hole of their spiritual prison, so many who delight to make their fancy lord of all within them, that every wild imagination can be sure of a welcome, and if it have but the faintest coloring of Scriptural authority, men will cling with both hands to the delusion.

But the question arises, — how came this state of mind to prevail so generally at the time? How happened it that there were so many already Millerites in spirit, who, when that interpreter appeared, were ready to give him welcome? The explanation, undoubtedly, is found in the course pursued by some leading Christian sects. For some years they had made it their endeavor to create excitement, and had measured their success by the extent and depth to which it spread. All manner of machinery had been employed for the purpose, and the public mind, wherever they could reach it, had been thrown into a feverish state, which treated sober religious feelings and the patient discharge of Christian duties with supreme disdain. All at once these sects became doubtful, as well they might, whether they were doing real service to the cause of their Master; their agitating efforts were suddenly suspended; and the result was, that the religious feeling of their several communities sank down into heavy collapse, like an uninflated balloon. A despondent habit of feeling necessarily succeeded, and



owing to this favorable position of circumstances the small prophet of doom acquired an influence, which he would not soon have gained by truth or talent alone.

There is much of this despondency always existing in the public mind, and though it does not everywhere appear, it is easy at any moment to rekindle it from its ashes. But the conclusion to which the wise man came, was a proof of his superior good sense and feeling; after all his gloomy reflections on the downward tendency of all human things, he said, that to "fear God and keep his commandments" was the best that man could do. Whoever fears Him with right reverence, will leave times, seasons and all results, with cheerful confidence, to Him: for it is ours, to endeavor and be faithful; it is His, to arrange and determine: and this state of mind, if it do not enable us to see good in everything, can at least assure us that good will come out of the evil under which we suffer now. In the winter we have seen the crystal-plated woods bending and broken with their splendid weight, and have lamented this fatal gift of beauty as if their end was come: but when the spring returns, great nature from her deep treasures of verdure repairs and replaces the loss, and in a year or two it is difficult to remember the injury that was done. And so in everything, if we are but true-hearted: let us do our small part, and we shall see that the order of Providence is going on well, in full harmony and power; and so it will continue to go on long after we are in our graves. It will come to an end in His own good time. But that shall only be the commencement of a higher and better system, and they who have been faithful here shall pass on from glory to glory on high.

W. B. O. P.

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#### ART. VII.—WHEWELL'S ETHICS.\*

DR. WHEWELL has gained most of his reputation by works in mathematics and physics, and particularly by the

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\* *The Elements of Morality, including Polity.* By WILLIAM WHEWELL, D. D., Master of Trinity College, and Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. In Two Volumes, 8vo. London. 1845. Reprinted, 2 vols. 12mo. New York. 1845.

"History" and the "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," which have been highly appreciated even by those who do not agree with the author in some of his fundamental speculations. He has also published two treatises on Education, which, though local and temporary in their main purpose, are of considerable interest and value to the general reader from the breadth of view, and practical acquaintance with the subject, which they evince. Meanwhile, as Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge, he has not been inattentive to the progress of ethical inquiry at home or abroad. In 1837, he published four discourses on the Foundation of Morals, in which he expresses strong disapprobation of Paley's system, and avows himself a disciple of Butler, announcing his intention, in the Preface, to edit soon a selection from Butler's Sermons, so arranged and illustrated that it might be used as a text-book. Instead of this we now have before us a text-book of his own, drawn up with care, and bearing on every page the marks of his peculiar style of thought and expression, and, it is but fairness to add, of his general ability, scholarship and moderation. Still we are not surprised to learn, from the notices which have been taken of it, that it has not been received with much favor either in England or this country.

Zealots for change will find many things in this manual which they will dislike. It maintains the right, and the necessity, at least in the existing state of society, of oaths, capital punishment, and war. The subject on which the author, through his humane leanings, is most likely to satisfy this class of his readers, is Slavery, which he takes every opportunity to denounce; but it is always with the provision, that abolition of it "is to be sought by legal and constitutional means only." He also strikes at the root of much that passes under the name of Individualism, by making the State the authorized and legitimate interpreter of right. He does not mean that the State *makes* right, or that it is authorized to enforce as right what it knows to be wrong; but simply this:—in the ordinary course of things, if a real difference of opinion exist as to what is right, the decision of the State, that is to say, *the law*, ought to be submitted to by the members of the State, until by producing a change in public opinion, or in the government, the law itself is altered or repealed.

On the other hand, these volumes contain many things which will offend the ultra conservative; as, for example, the whole chapter on Progressive Standards of Morality. According to Dr. Whewell, while the State has a right to interpret right, it is also under obligation to revise and modify its interpretations from time to time, so as to make them conform to the advances of the community and the age in knowledge and civilization. The right and the obligation rest on the same basis, so that, morally speaking, one is nothing without the other. Dr. Whewell is not a conservative from idolatry of the past, or from despair of the future, but from love of order. He would not make society or the human mind stationary; on the contrary, he asserts, again and again, the fact, and also the right and duty, of progress; but then, in most cases, that this progress may be regular and sure, he would have it effected, not by the triumph of individualism, but by the legitimate action of the government considered as representing the State, or society considered as an organic whole.

The ground taken in this work in respect to religion and the Church will not be acceptable to any sect in this country, except perhaps the Episcopalian. The Orthodox sects will object to his anti-Calvinistic views of human nature, and to his faint and scarcely articulate intimation of the doctrines of the Trinity, Atonement and Divine Influence. On these points the Liberal sects will find little to condemn; they, however, on their part, will be among the first to reject what is said of a National Church, and the propriety of entrusting it with the education of the people. Like Paley before him, Dr. Whewell is a resolute and determined apologist for the religious institutions of his country as by law established, and in the case of both it is often, we suppose, the fault of the institutions, rather than of the apologist, that the apology is no better. The chapter on the relations of the Church to the State must be as unsatisfactory and distasteful to English Dissenters, as it is to us; and even to English Churchmen, we should expect that the foreign cast, which his study of the Continental philosophers has given to his thought and expression, and even to his method, would make the whole work seem strange and unwelcome. His countrymen could never make much of his theory of knowledge, as set forth in the "Philosophy of the

Inductive Sciences," to wit, that it consists in the union of a sensation and an idea, of a fact and a conception explaining the fact. This new application of the theory, in which legalized rights are made to play the part of *facts*, and our ideas of absolute right, the part of *conceptions*, so that morality is represented as resting upon law, and not law upon morality, will hardly have the effect to clear up the doctrine, or reconcile them to it.

Nevertheless we regard the preparation of this substitute for Paley by an eminent English scholar, and the head of one of the principal colleges in the university at which Paley was educated, as auguring well for moral science. To found morality, as the latter does, on expediency alone, and to set aside as "declamation" all distinctions based on the supposed "worthiness, refinement and delicacy of some satisfactions, or the meanness, grossness and sensuality of others," is either to deny, or to insult the moral nature of man. Paley's application of his principles is often also as exceptionable as the principles themselves: witness, the laxity of his doctrine respecting lies, and the shuffling casuistry by which he would make it appear, that the clergyman who is required to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles "willingly and *ex animo*," and "acknowledge all and every Article to be agreeable to the word of God," is not bound to believe them, but only not to preach against them. And this is not all. The worst practical result of the general currency which Paley's Moral Philosophy has obtained in England and this country, has been to induce, even in persons of cultivated minds, not mistaken principles in ethics, but the absence of settled principle of every kind, a distrust of the spiritual capacities of man, and of all the higher motives and aims of human conduct. No such mischiefs are to be apprehended from the errors, real or supposed, into which Dr. Whewell has fallen; large portions of his work we can accept almost without qualification; and on practical ethics generally, we are not sure that any text-book can be found, which is less liable to serious objection.

As a specimen of the manner in which casuistical questions are discussed in this work, we give the following from the chapter on Cases of Conscience.

11701

"A man falls into the power of a band of robbers, and, in fear of violence, promises them that if they will set him free, he will afterwards send them a certain sum of money. He is liberated on his promise: is he bound afterwards to send the money? According to the above considerations, if it was not immoral to make the Promise, it is a Duty to keep it. And this Rule is so obvious a one, and its application so direct, that we may wonder that any other should have been taken.

The reasons given for doubt, or for the opposite decision, are various. Thus Cicero says, that with robbers, we have no tie of common faith or obligation. But we shall, of course, answer, that we keep our word, not as what is due to robbers, but as what is due to ourselves, and necessary to our character of truthful men: not as what is an act of obligation to them, but an act of reverence to truth. We may add, that we can hardly say that we have no ties of common obligation with them, when we have made them a promise, and have received life and liberty as a consideration for it. We make a Contract with them, though it may be an informal one. They fulfil their part of the Contract: if we do not fulfil ours, we shall take a very strange way of exemplifying our asserted moral superiority over them.

It has also been alleged, as a reason why the Promise thus given should not be kept, that their confidence in Promises will thus greatly facilitate the perpetration of such robberies; — that in this way, such Contracts may be made the means of almost unlimited extortion. Upon this we may remark, that it is right to regard the probable consequences of our actions; and we must agree, that it would be wrong to contribute to maintain a state of things in which lawless banditti levy ransoms upon peaceable citizens. But these considerations, if acted on, would prevent our making the Promise. And if, notwithstanding these considerations, we have made the promise, we must consider how far it is likely that to keep our word, rather than to break it, would make us the supporters of such a habit of extortion. Is it probable that the banditti will give up their practice, simply because their captives, liberated on such promises, do not perform them? Is it not likely that, their power remaining, such disappointments would induce them to seek some more effectual mode of extortion? Do we not, by making and adhering to such contracts, prevent their adding murder to robbery? And is not the most proper and hopeful course for suppressing such robbery, to call for, and, if required, to assist, the vigorous administration of the laws against robbers, which exist in every State. Till that can be done, may it not tend to preserve, from extreme cruelties, those who fall into the hands of the robbers, that they should have some confidence in the payment of the ransom agreed upon? Even on the balance of

probable advantage, it would seem that such a promise is to be kept." — Vol. I. pp. 250 — 252.

We copy another passage from the chapter on Cases of Necessity.

"In the case in which Moral Rules are transgressed, not for the sake of our own preservation, but in order to preserve some *other person* from great impending evil; we may have a Case of Necessity, which is also a *Conflict of Duties*: for to preserve another person from great evil, is a part of the general Duty of Benevolence; and when the person is connected with us by special relations, to do this, is involved in the Duties of the Specific Affections. Thus, when the wife of Grotius saved him by a lie; when Lucilius saved Brutus by falsely personating him; when Virginius preserved his daughter from pollution by her murder; when a man, in rescuing a neighbor from death, kills the robber who assails him; we have two Duties, placed in opposition to each other; on one side, the Duty of rescuing, from a terrible and impending evil, a husband, a friend, a daughter, a neighbor; on the other hand, the Duty of not telling a falsehood, or committing homicide.

These Cases of Conflict of Duties differ from the Cases of Conscience formerly considered, in having, as one alternative, death, or some extreme evil, immediately impending over a person whom we love; and hence, they hardly admit of a deliberate previous decision what we *ought* to do; but rather lead to some paroxysmal act, of which we afterwards enquire whether it was *allowable*, as in other Cases of Necessity.

In these Cases, as in the other Cases of Necessity, the Moral-ist must abstain from laying down definite Rules of decision; and for the like reasons as before. To state General Rules for deciding Conflicts between opposing Duties, would have an immoral tendency. For such a procedure would necessarily seem to make light of the Duties which were thus, in a general manner, postponed to other Duties; and would tend to remove the compunction, which any Moral Rule violated, ought to occasion to the Actor. We may see these defects, in the Rules which have been proposed for such purposes. For example, it has been said by some, that the wife of Grotius and the friend of Brutus were justified in what they did, because the Duty of Truth is only a Duty to one's self; and Duties to a Husband or a Friend are of a higher order than Duties to one's self. But the result of this Maxim would evidently be, that any Lie, however great, might be told to procure the smallest benefit to a Husband or Friend; which is a most immoral conclusion.

But though in such Cases of Conflict of Duties, no Moral Rules can be laid down, as of universal validity, the course

taken by the Actor will depend, and ought to depend, upon his state of Moral Culture. And perhaps the best mode of deciding any particular case, is to consider how the two sides of the alternative would have affected the Moral Culture and Moral Progress of the person. Thus, in the case of Grotius's wife, Conjugal Love was in Conflict with the Love of Truth. Both of these are Moral Principles, to be cultivated in our hearts, by their influence upon our actions. If the wife had neglected an opportunity which offered itself, of saving the husband from death, the shock to Conjugal Affection would have been intense; and the irremediable evil, when it had fallen upon her, must have brought with it a self-accusation and despair, against which the recollection of scrupulous veracity could hardly have supported her. If, on the contrary, in such extreme necessity she uttered a falsehood; even if it had been to friends, it might have remained in her mind as an exception, without weakening the habitual reverence for Truth: but the deceit being, in fact, used towards enemies, with whom the same common understanding does not obtain, which subsists among friends, it would naturally still less be felt to be an act in which the Duty of Truth was lightly dealt with; so that there were reasons to hope, that if any wound were inflicted on the Love of Truth by the act, it might heal readily and completely." — Vol. I. pp. 273 — 275.

We observe among the high authorities on which Dr. Whewell relies, several American ones, especially Judge Story, Chancellor Kent, and Mr. Wheaton. J. w.

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#### ART. VIII.—CONGREGATIONALISM VINDICATED.

A Dudleian Lecture, read in the Chapel of Harvard College, May 13, 1846, by Rev. ALEXANDER YOUNG, of Boston.

THE Honorable PAUL DUDLEY, to whose forecast and munificence the College is indebted for the foundation of this Annual Lecture, and in conformity with whose bequests and statutes I appear before you to-day, was descended from one of the most distinguished families among the first planters of Massachusetts, and was himself one of the most prominent men of his time in New England. His father, Joseph Dudley, a graduate of this College in 1665, was Governor of the Province in the time of Queen Anne.

His grandfather, Thomas Dudley, who also held the same office for many years, was chosen Deputy Governor of the Colony on board the *Arbella* at Southampton, just before the sailing of Winthrop's fleet in April, 1630; and his admirable Letter to his friend and patroness, the Countess of Lincoln, dated in March, 1631, nine months after his arrival here, and written, as he says, "rudely, having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fireside, upon my knee, in this sharp winter," is the most interesting as well as authentic document in the early annals of this Colony.

The founder of this Lecture was born at Roxbury, the seat of his ancestors, September 3, 1675, and was graduated at this College in 1690, which he afterwards served in the capacity of Tutor. After reading law for some years in this country, he went to England to finish his studies at the Inner Temple, in London; whence he returned in 1702 as Attorney General of the Province, and in 1718 was raised to the Bench, and in 1745 was appointed Chief Justice of the Superior Court. He was not only an accomplished lawyer, but a well read theologian, and a man of learning and science; no other evidence of which need be mentioned, than his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, an honor to which very few natives of this country have ever attained, and to whose Transactions he contributed several valuable papers relating to the natural history of New England.

By birth and descent, as well as in spirit and principle, Judge Dudley was a Puritan. And sitting in the old wooden meetinghouse at Roxbury,—built probably of rough, unhewn logs, according to the primitive architecture of the country,—and in which he thought he had heard as good sermons preached as ever he had listened to beneath the arches of the magnificent church of the Temple, where he had been bred to the law, and as fervent and effectual prayers offered from the heart as ever he had heard read from book in the stateliest cathedrals of the mother-land, he could hardly sit quiet in his pew when he reflected that the godly and worthy pastors, who delivered those sermons and uttered those prayers, were denounced as intruders upon the Christian ministry, the ordinances of religion as administered by them pronounced invalid and



nugatory, their claim to be regarded as Gospel ministers set at naught, and the very exercise of their office declared to be an unwarrantable assumption and usurpation. It was this feeling which prompted him, ninety-five years ago, to institute this quadrennial Lecture, "for the maintaining, explaining, and proving," as he says, "the validity of the ordination of ministers, or pastors of the churches, and so their administration of the sacraments or ordinances of religion, as the same hath been practised in New England from the first beginning of it, and so continued to this day. For I do esteem," he continues, "the method of ordination as practised in the churches of this country to be very safe, and scriptural, and valid; and that the Great Head of the Church, by his blessed spirit, hath owned, sanctified, and blessed them accordingly, and will continue so to do to the end of time."

It was right and well that Judge Dudley instituted this Lecture. There have been times, I am aware, when the wisdom and propriety of appointing this as the topic of a stated discourse, especially before an Academical body, like this, have been questioned. It has been said, that the time for the discussion of such matters has long since gone by; that the world has outgrown them; that this is not a practical question, in which any one at the present day takes, or can take, a real and living interest; that it is of very little consequence how it is settled; and that it is hardly worth while for men to waste their time about such a dry, unprofitable controversy. But it is not so. This is not a dead, inoperative question. It is a practical question, and a very serious one, too. To us, Congregationalists, at least, it is a matter of life or death; it is "*articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*." You will pardon us, then, if we seem interested in it, and speak somewhat plainly on the subject.

The history of the Church, too, within the few past years has shown us the value and uses of this Lecture, as well as the sagacity and good judgment of its founder. The rise of what has been called Puseyism in Great Britain, and the awkward aping of it in this country, — the appearance of the "*Tracts for the Times*," and their eager reception and republication in America, — the numerous secessions from the Church of England to Popery, the

posting of so many of its clergy to Rome, and the tendency of so many others that way, — and the countenance and sympathy which these measures and movements have met with from a portion, and that too a considerable and zealous portion, of the Episcopal Church in the United States, — all serve to show that this question of ministerial ordination, and the consequent validity of the sacraments, is a live question, one in which men really take an interest, — that, in fact, it is the great ecclesiastical question of the day. The sons of the Puritans, at least, with their views of the matter, can see no middle ground, nothing stable and permanent, between Congregationalism and Popery. To the New England Pilgrim, Lambeth seems but the vestibule to the Vatican, and Oxford the half-way house to Rome.

It will be understood, I trust, that this is not a question about the truths and principles of religion ; and that therefore the Lecturer cannot be justly charged with introducing doctrinal controversy into the College pulpit. This is a question in which both divisions of the Congregational body, however differing in point of doctrines, are alike interested, and about which they are perfectly agreed and united. And may I not add, that it is a question in which we have the entire sympathy and hearty coöperation of all the other great denominations among us ; all, I say, except the Roman Catholics and the Episcopalians. We plead the cause, therefore, of no fragment of a denomination, but of the great majority of the churches and pastors of New England. We present a broad, unbroken front, and raise the standard of Independency against what John Knox would call “the monstrous regiment” of bishops.

Let it also be understood, that this controversy is not of our making or seeking. For myself I can truly say that I appear here to-day solely from a sense of duty, to discharge one of those equivocal offices which are neither to be sought nor shunned, at the bidding of those whose request has with me the force of a command. In this whole matter we stand upon the defensive, to maintain our ecclesiastical rights, to assert our title to an existence as a Church, and our claim to be recognized and respected as such.

After this somewhat long, but I trust not altogether irrelevant introduction, I address myself to the main busi-

ness in hand, and proceed to take up this question of the validity of the Congregational Ministry, the consequent efficacy of the Ordinances as administered by them, and the right of our Congregational churches to be regarded as true churches of Christ. And I hope that the remarks which shall be offered, taken together, may constitute a not unworthy Vindication of Congregationalism, of its idea, its principles, its constitution, — a vindication drawn from its history, from its nature and character, and from its tendency, influence, and effects.

In the first place, what was the Church which Christ instituted? It was the congregation of Christian believers, whether few or many. Where two or three of his disciples were gathered together in his name, there was he in the midst of them; and *there* was a Christian church, such an one as Paul recognized when he greeted "the church which is in the house of Nymphas," and "the church that is in the house of Priscilla and Aquila," and the "church that is in the house of Archippus." Every little band of this sort, that met together for Christian purposes, to remember Christ and worship the Father, was a church, and contained within itself everything necessary to constitute it a true church. Christ, indeed, nowhere tells his Apostles to gather churches. He commands them to go forth and "make disciples;" but he leaves it to the converts themselves to appoint the time and place of their religious assemblies, and to determine the constitution and arrangement of their social worship. He implies, more than once, that they will thus meet together. But he prescribes to them no organization, no government, no ritual. He does not command them to assemble on any particular day in the week, or to read a liturgy, or to kneel in prayer. On these points he leaves his followers at perfect liberty to adopt, in every age and country, such forms of worship and service as shall seem to them most expedient and edifying, and best suited to their particular condition and wants.

And what were the officers whom Christ appointed in his church? Were they rectors, deans, archdeacons, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, popes, a long line of superior and inferior clergy, to lord it over one another, as well as over God's heritage? No such thing. "Ye know," says he addressing them, "that the princes of the

Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority over them. But it shall not be so among you. But whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." The officers whom he commissioned, were "apostles," that is to say, missionaries, persons sent abroad into the world, ministers at large. And what was their function and office? What did he tell them to do? "Go ye," says he, "and teach all nations — teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you." *Teaching* — this was their great office, than which there can be none higher or greater — the influence which one mind exerts over another by superior wisdom and intelligence, no matter how acquired, whether by supernatural illumination, or by study and toil. They were to be the heralds of truth, the lights of their age, the guides of the world, the moral and spiritual instructors of their fellow-men.

And this is the grand distinction between them and the ministers of all other religions, Jewish as well as Pagan. The ministers of all other religions were priests, sacrificers, the actors in a bloody ritual. But in Christianity there is no priest, and no work of this kind to perform. "Christ having appeared once to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself," as the Epistle to the Hebrews states, no further sacrifices are needed; there is no room left for the altar or the priest. The only holocaust that we can offer is ourselves; the only altar is the altar of the heart; the only sacrifice is the sacrifice of self, the denial of appetite, the surrender of passion, the immolation of sin. Since there is One Mediator between God and man, we need no priest now to make atonement for us, to intercede in our behalf, or to presume to forgive our sins. By the introduction of Christianity the whole system of priesthood and the whole fabric of priestcraft were swept away at once. The religion which Christ taught, was not a ceremonial religion, a religion of rites and forms and sacrifices, but a spiritual religion, a religion of truths, and doctrines, and principles, addressing not the outward senses, but the intellect and the heart. Henceforth the great instrument of religious influence was to be, not sacrifice, but instruction, and the ministers of religion were no longer to be priests, but teachers.

So the Apostles understood their commission, and on this they acted. They set up no altar, they offered no sacrifice, they ordained no priest. They proclaimed the great moral and spiritual truths of Christianity, and called upon others to aid them in their work. And what were to be the qualifications and endowments of these companions and successors of the primitive heralds of the Gospel? Were they all to be divinely inspired, and empowered to forgive sins? Must they have the hands of Pre-lacy laid upon their heads, or the chain of an Apostolical succession hung around their necks? Let the Apostle Paul answer, who, in an Epistle to one of his fellow-workers, says, "The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." "*Faithful men, able to teach,*" — that is the qualification, and the whole of the qualification. This it is that makes a Gospel minister. This is the only divine right that is needed, the only Apostolical succession that we covet for our ministers. If they only have this, we ask for nothing higher.

Every assembly of Christian believers, then, is a church, a true, complete church of Christ, competent to manage its own affairs, and to elect its own teachers, whether from among its own members, or from abroad; competent, too, to induct them into office, and to invest them with whatever powers and privileges are requisite to enable them to teach and administer Christianity in that church. Every sincere, conscientious Christian, who understands the Gospel and is able to teach it, is authorized to teach it, provided he can get anybody to hear him; and he is fully authorized to take the charge of a church, and be its "over-seer," or "bishop," provided the people want him, and elect him. Three things, you see, and three things only, are required to make a Christian bishop, — sincerity, capacity, and election. He must be a "faithful man, able to teach;" and if, thus qualified, a church want his services and call him to office, they are fully competent to instal and ordain him as their pastor and teacher; and thenceforth he has all the rights and prerogatives of a Christian minister, and is as good a bishop as ever was made.

This is *Congregationalism*, in its purity and essence, as drawn from the New Testament, and carried out to its full

extent, to its ultimate results. It asserts the entire independency of each congregation, and its competency to elect and ordain its ministers ; and it asserts, also, the independency of the ministers themselves, in respect to one another, and their entire parity in their official powers and rights.

In opposition to this, come up the system of *Prelacy*, or *Episcopacy*, which prevails in the Romish Church, the Greek Church, the Church of England, and the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country. This system implies, and in some of its departments asserts, that the people, the body of Christian believers, have no right whatever, under any circumstances, to meet together and form a church ; that the clergy, not the people, are the church ; that the people have no power to ordain their ministers, even though they had the power to elect them. Above all it maintains, that the ministers of religion are not equal in point of rank, authority, and function ; that there are certain superior ones among them, in whom alone resides the priest-making power ; which power has been transmitted to them, through a mysterious influence accompanying the imposition of hands, in an unbroken succession, from the Apostles ; and that none but those ordained by the superior clergy, or bishops, as they are technically termed, are Gospel ministers, or have any right to administer the ordinances of Christianity.

Now, to say the least of it, this is a very extraordinary pretension, — a claim which cannot be admitted upon the mere assertion of those who hold and wield this episcopal jurisdiction. We want *proof*, we demand proof ; and in such a momentous affair as this we think we have a right to demand clear, unequivocal proof ; not naked assertion, not ingenious, far-fetched inferences, but direct, conclusive evidence from the Scriptures. We object to this Episcopal pretension, first, because we do not find that the Founder of the Church instituted any such order of superior clergy, or authorized anybody else to do so ; and, secondly, because we do not find that his Apostles instituted any such order. What our Saviour did in planting his Church and appointing its ministers, we have already seen. What his Apostles did, we shall see presently.

Let it be distinctly understood, that we have no quarrel with *bishops*. We admit their existence, we recognize

their office, we find their name in the Scriptures, we maintain their importance and necessity in the Church. We hold to Scripture bishops, to New Testament bishops — overseers, that is, of separate, independent churches — parochial bishops, Congregational bishops, each having the charge and oversight of a single congregation. The Greek word *ἐπισκοπος*, — sometimes translated *bishop*, and sometimes *overseer*, which is its equivalent, — does not trouble us in the least, when we meet with it in the New Testament. We adopt it; we like it. I suppose there are now upwards of a thousand such bishops in this Commonwealth.

What we object to, and protest against, is the conversion of this overseer of a single parish, this occasional presiding officer among his ministerial brethren, into the permanent overseer of a cluster of churches, or diocese, — claiming to be superior to his brethren, both of the clergy and laity, — appropriating to himself the sole right of inducting other ministers into office, and of investing them with their spiritual functions, — assuming to be the successor of the Apostles, and to inherit from them certain mysterious powers, such as communicating the Holy Ghost by touch, and imparting to his inferior clergy the ability to wash away sins by the laver of baptism, to pronounce absolution of personal transgressions, and to change the bread and wine of the Eucharist into the real body and blood of the Lord. Whenever I see one of this class appropriating to himself this Scripture title of overseer, and styling himself, for example, exclusively “the Bishop of Boston,” or “the Bishop of Massachusetts,” I am reminded of the words of King Henry of England, when the sad tidings reached him that Earl Percy, of Northumberland, was slain in Chevy Chase: —

“Now God be with him, said our king,  
Sith it will no better be;  
I trust I have within my realm  
Five hundred as good as he.”

In order to establish their exclusive claims, the Prelatists must prove, first, that the bishops mentioned in the New Testament, were not parochial, but *diocesan* bishops; secondly, that these diocesan bishops were invested by Christ

and his Apostles with the sole, exclusive power of ordination; and thirdly, that this priest-making power has been handed down, and can be distinctly traced, in an unbroken line of succession, from the primitive, Apostolical bishops to the diocesan bishops of the present day. This is the work that they have got to do; and it is more, I think, than they can accomplish, with all their learning, be it more or less.

For, in the first place, there is not the distinction, which they assert, among the ministers of the Gospel. In the New Testament we read nothing about three orders of clergy, — bishops, priests, and deacons, differing in rank, authority, and spiritual functions. The teachers of religion appointed by Christ, as we have already seen, were missionaries and ministers, — which is the true meaning of “apostles” and “deacons”; and they were invested by him with no power over one another. They constituted but one order, the great order of *teachers*, and stood upon a level of perfect equality.

We come to the Acts of the Apostles, and we find there still but one order of clergy, called indiscriminately ministers, elders and overseers, three titles designating the same office, and corresponding to the three Greek terms, deacons, presbyters and bishops; the first implying service, the second, venerableness or seniority, and the third, watchfulness or oversight. So far is it from being true that these words were employed as distinctive titles of different orders in the ministry, that Paul, who certainly would be entitled to the highest, appropriates to himself the humblest of them all. He never calls himself a bishop, by way of eminence, but he repeatedly styles himself a *deacon*, and addresses Timothy by the same title. Peter, too, calls himself not a bishop, but an elder. “The elders which are among you,” he says, “I exhort, who am also an *elder*.”

It is worthy of remark, that the word, bishop, occurs but five times in the original language of the New Testament. Once it is translated *overseer*, which is its true meaning. Once it is applied to Christ himself, when he is called “the shepherd and bishop,” that is, the watchman and guardian, “of your souls.” Twice Paul uses it, when, writing to his youthful fellow-laborers, Timothy and Titus, he tells them that “a bishop,” that is, a spiritual overseer, who watches



for souls, "must be himself blameless." And lastly, Paul uses the term when he addresses "the saints which are in Philippi, with the bishops and deacons," that is the officers and ministers of the church there. And it is deserving of notice, that in this single church of Philippi there were more than one bishop. Now-a-days, there is one bishop for several churches; then there were several bishops for one church. Of course they could not have been *diocesan* bishops.

And not only do these various terms of "elder," "overseer," and "minister," designate one and the same person, but they are applied to those who exercise precisely the same functions. Two citations in proof of this statement will be sufficient. Paul, we are told, called for "the *elders* of the church at Ephesus," that is, according to the Prelatical theory, the presbyters, the second order of clergy, and exhorted them to take heed to themselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them "*bishops*," ἐπισκόπους. These presbyters, then, were bishops, in the estimation of Paul. He saw no difference between an elder and an overseer. Peter, too, in the passage just quoted, addresses the elders thus, "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the *oversight* thereof," as it is in our translation; but in the original ἐπισκοποῦντες, acting as *bishops*, exercising episcopal jurisdiction. Peter evidently recognized no distinction between a presbyter and a bishop.

But it will be said perhaps, that the bishops had the exclusive power of ordering and ruling in the Church. Let us see. Paul writing to Timothy, says, "Let the *elders* that *rule* well, be accounted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the word and doctrine." It appears from this, that the government of the church did not belong exclusively to the first order of clergy, the bishops, but was also exercised by the second order, the presbyters, or elders. It could hardly be otherwise, when they were the same persons.

The power of ordination, too, of instituting other ministers in office, was not the exclusive prerogative of a superior order of clergy, as the Prelatists pretend. The bishops of the New Testament had no monopoly in the matter. The presbyters ordained as well as the bishops:

and it could not be otherwise ; for they were the same officers, bearing different names. If the Episcopal pretension were well founded, one would expect that such eminent ministers as Paul and Barnabas would have been ordained by the original, primitive bishops, the Apostles. But we do not find that they were ordained by any *bishop* at all. Nay, we are expressly told, that they were separated and ordained by the hands of "certain prophets and teachers" in the church at Antioch. And yet, when James, Peter and John, the chief of the Apostles, afterwards met Paul and Barnabas, they gave them the right hand of fellowship, thus acknowledging them to be true ministers, rightly ordained, though they had not been ordained by bishops, but by the second or third order of clergy, by "certain prophets and teachers."

Timothy too, one would suppose, if it had been important or indispensable to give validity to his ministry, would have been ordained by Paul, or by some other of the Apostles, or by a bishop at least. But what was the fact? He was ordained, as we learn from Paul, "by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery:" — not of the *episcopate*, but of the *presbytery*, the second order of clergy.

To evade the force of this statement and get rid of this difficulty, it will not do for the Prelatists to turn a short corner, and coolly tell us that those elders or presbyters by whom Timothy was ordained, and those prophets and teachers by whom Paul and Barnabas were ordained, were veritable bishops ; for that will be giving up the very point in dispute, and coming over to our ground. We cannot suffer them to play fast and loose in this way. They must take their stand on one side or the other, and keep it, without shifting their position to evade the force of the argument. If they say that those elders and prophets were the same officers as bishops, very well ; that is what we say. But if they take their usual ground, and maintain that bishops alone had the power to ordain, then we bring forward again these cases of Barnabas and Timothy to prove that it was not so, but that presbyters and teachers had the power of ordaining, as well as bishops.

Our position is this, — that there was but *one* order of ministers in the primitive Church, designated indiscriminately bishops or presbyters, overseers or elders. Now if the

Prelatists admit that presbyters were bishops, and did ordain in the time of the Apostles, they confound two of their orders, one of them absorbing the other. At the same time they give us, Congregationalists, the opportunity to put this question; — ‘If a presbyter could ordain in the time of the Apostles, why cannot a presbyter ordain now, and why is not ordination by a presbyter of your Church or our Church as valid and efficacious as ordination by a bishop?’ One case of this sort, you see, breaks the whole charm, and is fatal to the whole pretension. For the claim is an exclusive one. It is strenuously maintained by the Prelatists, that no person can be a Gospel minister, unless he has been ordained by a bishop. In opposition to this, we bring forward from the New Testament three instances to the contrary — those of Paul, Barnabas, and Timothy, who were ordained not by bishops, but by “certain prophets, teachers, and elders,” the ordinary ministers of the church, the *inferior* clergy, as the Prelatists call them, the second or third estate. But if their ordination was regular and valid, (and they undoubtedly would take care that it should be,) there is no reason at the present day to question the validity of a minister’s ordination, even though he may not have had the imposition of a diocesan bishop’s hands practised upon him.

But even though the Prelatists could prove that in the primitive Church there was an order of superior clergy, in whom alone resided the power of ordination, they have done but half their work. They have got to prove its transmission to the present time. They must show, beyond a reasonable doubt, that this spiritual function, this priest-making power, has been handed down and can be distinctly traced from the Apostolic age to the present day, and that the bishops of the nineteenth century are descended from the bishops of the first century by a lineal and unbroken succession of individuals. How will they do this? Will they bring forward a long catalogue of names, an episcopal pedigree, running through eighteen hundred years, and gravely ask us to receive that as a genuine and authentic document? Why, one of their own order, Bishop Stillingfleet, will teach them better. He shows clearly that these catalogues are so very different, that nothing certain can be gathered from them; and he distinctly

asserts, that "by the loss of records of the British churches, we cannot draw down the succession of bishops from the Apostles' times." Will they undertake to prove that no informality has ever occurred in the ordination of bishops, to interrupt the succession, or to vitiate and taint the sacramental virtue transmitted thereby? Another of their own order, a high dignitary in their Church, Archbishop Whately, will tell them, and moreover will demonstrate it to them by a mathematical formula which they cannot escape, that it is next to impossible that such informalities should not have occurred, and thus the continuity have been broken; and he affirms, that "there is not a minister in all Christendom who is able to trace up, with any approach to certainty, his own spiritual pedigree." To the same effect we have the testimony of another eminent prelate of the Church of England. "As sure as God is just, and equal, and good," says Bishop Hoadly, "he cannot put the salvation and happiness of any man upon what He himself hath put it out of the power of any man upon earth to be entirely satisfied in. It hath not pleased God, in his providence, to keep up any proof of the least probability or moral possibility of a regular, uninterrupted succession. But there is a great appearance, and, humanly speaking, a certainty of the contrary."

Now if there be any break whatever in the chain, if a single link, a single foot of the wire, be wanting, the whole sacramental virtue, the whole ordaining power, supposed to be transmitted by such a chain, fails; as inevitably as all communication is interrupted by a break in the wire of the electric telegraph.

"From Nature's chain whatever link you strike,  
Tenth or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike."

And even had it always remained entire, and its continuity never been interrupted, still this chain has lain for ages imbedded in the mud of the Tiber, and has become so encrusted and corroded, that it cannot transmit the afflatus of a divine succession. For ourselves, we covet no such pedigree, we feel the want of no such ecclesiastical ancestry. If we have not the episcopal succession, descending through a long line of corrupt popes, flagitious cardinals, and scandalous prelates, we have what we deem far better,

an apostolical and uninterrupted succession of great and wise and good men, able teachers and humble ministers of the Gospel of Christ.

We have thus shown, from the Scriptures, that the pretensions set up by the Prelatists for the exclusive power of ordination, are groundless. To draw us from this strong and secure position, they may appeal to the testimony of the Christian Fathers and the practice of the Church. But we shall not go into that question. Not because we fear the argument from ecclesiastical history; not because it does not furnish the most ample and satisfactory support to the view which we have taken of the primitive constitution of the Church and Ministry. But because, as Protestants, when we have proved our case from the Scriptures, we think we have done enough; and if our adversaries adduce something contrary to this from the writings of the Christian Fathers or the practice of the Church, we leave it to them to reconcile it with the New Testament. We do not put the traditions of the elders, nor the authority of the Church, nor the voice of Christian antiquity above the Bible, nor even on a level with the Bible. I have two other reasons for leaving this topic untouched. Time will not allow me to do it justice; and moreover, the subject has recently been so thoroughly examined and so forcibly stated by one of my predecessors in this Lecture, that I know I should find little to glean in the field which he has reaped. In what remains of this Lecture, therefore, I shall confine myself to the moral argument in favor of Congregationalism, and conclude with some practical views of the subject.

We prefer Congregationalism to Prelacy, because, as a system of church government and a mode of administering Christianity, it is not only more Scriptural, but more rational, more just, and more equitable, — is more favorable to intellectual and religious freedom, consults better the rights of the people, and harmonizes better with the spirit of our republican institutions.

The great, fundamental point of difference between the Prelatists and the Congregationalists, is this. They hold that there can be “no church without a bishop” — a diocesan bishop, that is — and that the clergy are in fact the

Church. On the contrary, we maintain that the people are the Church. So it was in the beginning. Look into the earliest records of Christianity, and you will find that the very word which is now used to prop up the pretensions of the Prelatical clergy, — this word, Church — signified originally the congregation, the mass of assembled worshippers, the body of Christian believers. It is so now. The lay brethren are the Church, as much as the clergy. And if driven by the assumptions of the prelatical order to separate the two, and to adjudicate on their respective claims, then we do not hesitate to say that the people alone, by themselves, irrespective of the clergy, and independent of the clergy, are the Church. The clergy, according to our view, are but certain “faithful men, able to teach,” coming out from among the brethren, and having no rightful power or authority over them, except what the brethren themselves have seen fit to delegate and confer. The distinguishing feature of Congregationalism is, that it is self-contained, bearing within itself all the elements of its organization, efficiency, and perpetuity. According to the theory of the Prelatists, the people can have “no church without a bishop;” and if, by any providence, they should be separated from their spiritual guides, they can have none of the peculiar privileges and ordinances of Christianity. Were a ship’s company, for instance, with its hundred passengers, thrown upon a desolate island, they must be forever debarred the rites of the Church, unless they happened to have on board a priest who had been episcopally ordained. Their children must remain unbaptized, and they themselves deprived of the benefit and comfort of the holy Communion. They might, it is true, perform these solemn services themselves; but without the sanction of episcopal authority, they would have no validity, no efficacy nor worth whatever. And even if they were so fortunate as to have a minister among them, properly qualified to administer these ordinances, yet unless he were a bishop, he could ordain no successor, and at his death they would be left without the sacramental means of grace.

Now I ask, is such a theory as this reasonable, probable, equitable, or conformable to just views of God’s character and government?

Suppose, again, the clergy of some isolated place like

Japan — cut off from all intercourse with the rest of the world — were by some fatality, some pestilence, entirely swept away, bishops and all. According to the theory we are considering, their place could never be supplied. The clerical order would be extinct. The succession once lost, could never be restored. Once gone, it is gone forever, irrecoverably gone; and that whole nation would present the lamentable spectacle of a church without an officer competent to administer its solemn rites.

Thank Heaven, we hold to no such unreasonable and extravagant doctrine. As on the death of the queen-bee in the hive, the members of that little monarchy can make a new one from among themselves, so we hold that a Christian church can make a bishop out of their own number, a real, veritable bishop, without calling in the aid of other bishops. We maintain that as the people can make a king or a president to oversee the State, so they can make a bishop to oversee the Church.

I know not but this may sound to some ears latitudinarian, and radical. But just look at what would be the consequence, of what has been the consequence, of denying this doctrine, that the people, the Christian laity, are the Church, and the source of ecclesiastical authority and power. You put the people entirely at the mercy of the clergy. The bishop's hand is upon the head of his inferior clergy; but his foot is upon the neck of a prostrate people. The opposite doctrine establishes the aristocracy of the Church of England, and the monarchy of the Church of Rome. The prelate lifts his mitred head in courts and parliaments; and the power that is wielded by the bishop who is enthroned upon the seven hills, is mightier than that of any monarch in Christendom. The latter may have the power of life and death over his subjects; the former extends his power further, beyond this world. He holds the keys, by which to open or shut the gates of heaven, — the power of *eternal* life and death — the power of absolution, to bind or loose, to forgive or retain sin, and to exclude from the bliss of paradise all who are refractory or disobedient to the edicts of the Church. And this is not a mere theory. The power has been exercised. The Church of Rome has wielded it, and still wields it, and rules with a rod of iron. The Church of England holds the same theory, and, as far as it can or dares, enforces it.

For one, I do not understand, how a man, who is imbued with the spirit of Christian humility and is conscious of his own frailty, can aspire, or consent even, to hold this official præminence over his ministerial brethren, or presume to look down upon them as his subordinates. Nor can I conceive how a person, who has a proper self-respect and the spirit of a man or a Christian, can submit to this usurpation, and consent to be thus enrolled by a prelate among his underlings, his inferior clergy. *Inferior?* In what respect? Look at them both, in all ages and in all countries, in the pages of history and in the stations which they fill. In what particulars have the working clergy in prelatical churches, been inferior to their overseers? Certainly not in talent, in learning, in moral worth, or in piety. Have the prelates always been the most distinguished lights in the Church in their day? Have they in modern times been the prominent advocates and defenders of the Christian faith? Have they been præeminently the ones who by their writings have done most to enforce the truths, and by their characters and lives to recommend the graces and virtues, of our common Christianity? Far be it from me to disparage the talents or the virtues of any who have worn the mitre. I am not unmindful of the services which some of them have rendered to Christian truth, nor would I deprive them of the least merit which rightfully belongs to them. I revere the names of Barrow, and Butler, and Taylor, and Fenelon. But I remember, too, that there were such men as Baxter and Lardner, Cudworth and Paley, Whitby and Priestley, — some of them belonging to the same Church with those just named, yet never exalted to its highest honors, though not a whit behind them in intellectual and moral worth. Did any bishop that ever sat upon his throne in England, do better service to the common cause of Christianity than the modest Lardner, who in his learned and ponderous volumes has built up an impregnable bulwark around the records of our common faith? Did any prelate of the Establishment ever shed a clearer or fuller flood of light upon the evidences of natural and revealed religion, than the clear-sighted and judicious Paley? Yet one of these was a Dissenter from the Church of England, and the other one of its inferior clergy.

Then look at our own country. What have the prelates



here done for Christian truth and righteousness? They may have done something, I admit, for their own sect, and written ingenious treatises to convince the clergy and laity of their divine right to rule over them. But what have they done, on a large scale and in a generous spirit, for Christian theology, compared with their inferior clergy, or with the clergy of other denominations? What great work of an American bishop can be named? What work, for metaphysical acuteness and profound analysis, to be put on a level with the great work of Edwards upon the Will? For argumentative power and intellectual vigor, what production of theirs can be compared with the writings of their great antagonist, Mayhew, who silenced the Archbishop of Canterbury, and postponed for twenty years the introduction of their order into this country? Who among them can be mentioned by the side of Channing for largeness of views, eloquence of utterance, and extent of influence? And what sermons of theirs, for grace, and finish, and melting persuasion, can stand a comparison with those of Buckminster?

Once more. We feel an attachment to Congregationalism, from a consideration of the circumstances under which our forefathers planted it here. They came over and settled down, as one of them said, "upon bare creation." They began the world anew, and remodelled the Church and the State, to suit their own views of truth and right. They brought over with them none of the institutions of the mother country, except the trial by jury and the system of popular representation. They left behind them the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the hierarchy, all parts of one system. They had no special reason for retaining or liking them, since through their agency they had been driven from their pleasant fields, the homes of their childhood, the churches of their affections, and the graves of their fathers. "What numbers of faithful and freeborn Englishmen, and good Christians," says Milton, "have been constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, whom nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops." Our fathers were Nonconformists, dissatisfied with the existing ceremonies of the Church — Puritans, sighing for a simpler and purer worship.

*Prelacy* did not emigrate. She staid at home, reclining in her palaces, seated upon her throne in the cathedrals. It was *Puritanism* that came over to plant the wilderness. Nor was it the nobility that emigrated ; though some sprigs of the peerage, like Lord Leigh, son and heir of the Earl of Marlborough, came and looked at the nakedness of the land, and speedily returned, having seen enough of it. It was the *people* that emigrated — the Commons of England, — with whom have always resided the moral worth and the sterling virtues of that noble land ; not the scum of the nation, not the offscouring and refuse of her population, not the sweepings of her jails and almshouses, — which were the seed of other colonies ; but the substantial gentry and yeomanry of England ; among them old families of good estates, ample fortunes and established character, — such men as John Winthrop, leaving his ancestral mansion at Groton, in Suffolk, which for more than two hundred years had been the seat of his family, and Isaac Johnson, the founder of Boston, who married a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and who named as one of his executors his friend, the great John Hampden, who died for liberty on Chalgrove field.

These were the men that emigrated. And when they arrived here, what would you have them do ? What could you expect them to do ? Rebuild in the New World the obnoxious, unequal institutions of the Old ? — revive the pomp of prelacy, and establish an hereditary aristocracy, and a hierarchy ? No. They could do no such thing. They did no such thing. They went back to first principles, to the natural rights of man, both in politics and religion, in civil government and church affairs. They carried the same principle into both ; and, what is better, they carried it out, fully and unflinchingly, to its legitimate, ultimate results ; they established democracy in both. In their view all men were equal before the magistrate ; much more were all men equal before God.

And let it be observed, that in all this, they were not radicals or anarchists. They went for government and authority, for law and order, both in Church and State. They brought over with them, it is true, no statute-book ; but they brought, as their birth-right, the common law of England, the gathered wisdom of her jurists, embodied in oral decisions, and by tradition handed down, — always

remembered, because they were the decisions of natural justice and the universal conscience. They brought with them no canon law, but they brought the Bible; and from that alone gathered their system of church government,—the system of Congregationalism,—the independency of the churches, the equality of the clergy among themselves, the equality of the laity to the clergy, and the competency of the people to elect and inaugurate their officers in the Church as well as in the State. We venerate this system which they have transmitted to us, and, please God, we will uphold and perpetuate it.

The students of the University will permit me, in concluding this Lecture, to congratulate them upon their privileges and their prospects. We rejoice that by the recent accession to the Presidency, you are henceforth to pursue your academical career under the genial and stimulating influence of a successful example—that you are to see, embodied in life, the result of well directed and persevering study—that you are to have constantly before you the model of what a true scholar should be. And whilst we congratulate you upon your privileges and rejoice with you in your prospects, will you not permit us to exhort you to be faithful in the use of your unequalled opportunities and blessings—that you may here obtain what Milton calls “a complete and generous education, which will fit you to perform skilfully, justly, and magnanimously, all the offices both of private and public life.”

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#### ART. IX. — UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.\*

It is refreshing, in this material, bustling, inharmonious age, to be allowed for a few moments to turn aside from

\* 1. *Addresses at the Inauguration of the Hon. Edward Everett, LL. D. as President of the University at Cambridge, Thursday, April 30, 1846.* Boston: Little & Brown. 1846. 8vo. pp. 66.

2. *On the Origin of Universities and Academical Degrees.* By HENRY MALDEN, M. A. Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Professor of Greek in the University of London. London. 1835. 16mo. pp. 173.

3. *German University Education; or, the Professors and Students of Germany.* By WALTER C. PERRY, Phil. Dr. of the University of Göttingen. London. 1845. 12mo. pp. 175.

4. *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung.* Nr. 1—148. Halle. 1845.

the engrossing topics of the day,—from steam, politics, and war,—and listen to a voice from the quiet shades of science and letters. To our ears this is a most welcome voice. We are of those who have a great veneration for seats of intellectual culture. We regard them as among the richest treasures of a community, essential to its true prosperity and glory. A nation cannot enjoy an enduring and elevated prosperity, cannot sit a crowned queen among the people of the earth, which does not keep alive on its altars the “sacred fire of learning,”—does not provide means for the thorough training of the intellectual faculties. All, therefore, have a deep interest in University education. It is a vulgar error to suppose, that this is something which does not concern the people, that the public at large are justified in turning on it an eye of indifference. The benefits of the higher institutions of education,—Universities and Colleges,—are by no means limited to the class of professional men, who through their aid are enabled to lay broad and deep the foundation of future usefulness and fame. Nor is it in their direct contributions to philosophy, to letters and the arts, alone, that they minister to the well-being and happiness of a State. They aid in the general development of the intellect of a nation; they encourage liberal studies; and elevate the standard of knowledge through the whole extent of the community.

Even the education acquired in the common schools, in a long series of years, is essentially affected by University attainments and influences. Nothing can be more foolish than the prejudice against Universities founded on the notion, that they serve little else than to supply the professions, and create a sort of aristocracy or “peerage” of intellect, or divert attention from pursuits of practical utility to mere abstract knowledge, to speculations and studies which lie remote from the common ways of men. The effects of University education, certainly in a country where the popular element predominates, are sure to be felt, in one form or another, for good, through the whole mass of the people. It is no more possible to confine them to a favored few than to limit the circulation of the electric fluid, or confine the common air. It is the essential tendency of knowledge to diffuse itself, and all the practical arts and the whole intellectual and moral life of a people are ad-

vanced, refined, and elevated, especially in a community like our own, by the highest order of literary seminaries.

The excellent Address of President Everett, which at the time of its delivery, was listened to with delight by as intelligent an audience as was ever assembled in New England, and which will be read with deep interest by all lovers of good learning, well states and illustrates the objects of University education under three general heads, as follows.

*“First*, the acquisition of knowledge in the various branches of science and literature, as a general preparation for the learned professions and the other liberal pursuits of life; —

*Secondly*, in the process of acquiring this knowledge, the exercise and development of the intellectual faculties, as a still more important part of the great business of preparation; — and,

*Thirdly*, the formation of a pure and manly character, exhibiting that union of moral and intellectual qualities which most commands confidence, respect, and love.” — pp. 34, 35.

All will agree in assigning to the formation of the character referred to under the last division, the first place among the objects a liberal education, and it is peculiarly gratifying to the friends of a pure and elevated morality sustained by the sanctions of religion, to witness the earnestness with which this topic is treated, though with unavoidable brevity, in the Inaugural Address. Let our literary and academical institutions keep this object steadily in view, and succeed in any good degree in its attainment, they will do more than in any other way to conciliate public favor and raise up to themselves efficient friends and benefactors. From this part of the address we give a single extract.

“But moral education is much too important an object to be left to follow as an incidental effect from mere literary culture. It should be deemed the distinct duty of a place of education to form the young to those habits and qualities which win regard and command respect, — gentleness of deportment, — propriety of conduct, — the moral courage “that will make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong,” — willing obedience to the laws of virtue, — and a profound reverence for sacred things; and of these traits of character, I know of no reliable foundation but sincere and fervent religious faith, founded on conviction, enlightened by reason, and nourished by the devout observance of those means of spiritual improvement which Christianity pro-

vides. In the faithful performance of this duty, I believe that a place of education, whether in Europe or America, renders at the present day a higher and more seasonable service to society, than by any thing that ends in mere scientific or literary culture. The understanding in every department of speculative or practical knowledge has advanced of late years with a vigor and success beyond what the world has witnessed at any other period; but I cannot suppress a painful impression, that this intellectual improvement has not exerted, and is not exerting, its natural influence in purifying the moral character of the age. I cannot subdue the feeling, that our modern Christendom, with all its professions and in all its communions, is sinking into a practical heathenism, which needs a great work — I had almost said a new dispensation — of reform, scarcely less than the decrepid paganisms of Greece and Rome. Christians as we are, we worship, in America and in Europe, in the city and the field, on the exchange and in the senate, and must I not add in the academy and the church, some gods as bad as those of the Pantheon. In individual and national earnestness, in true moral heroism, and in enlightened spirituality unalloyed by mysticism, the age in which we live is making, I fear, little progress; but rather, perhaps, with all its splendid attainments in science and art, is plunging deeper into the sordid worship of

‘the least erected spirit that fell  
From heaven, for even in heaven his looks and thoughts  
Were always downward bent, admiring more  
The riches of heaven’s pavement, — trodden gold, —  
Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed  
In vision beatific.’

It may be feared that a defect of this kind, if truly stated and sufficiently general to mark the character of an age, will prove too strong for any corrective influences but those of public calamity, and what are called, in our expressive national phrase, ‘the times that try men’s souls.’ But I have long thought, that if, in a period of prosperity and by gentle influences, any thing can be effected toward the same end, the work must be begun in our seminaries of liberal education, and that they have a duty to perform, in this respect, which cannot be too strongly urged nor too deeply felt.” — pp. 54 — 56.

The religious condition and wants of the College present a subject on which we intended here to have offered some remarks, but our limits prohibit us from entering upon it, as well as on several other topics suggested by the Address.

Near the commencement of his Address, President Everett introduces an allusion to the English and German Universities, to the former of which our own University,

"as far as the academical portion of it is concerned," bears a striking resemblance; the general range of study not being materially lower in Harvard than in them, and the average age of those who resort to it, being but little short of that of the students at the English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The history of the English Universities, and especially that at Cambridge, where so many of the early fathers of New England were educated, can never be without interest on this side of the Atlantic. On the subject of these Universities, Hüber's work, published in 1843, in three volumes, is the great authority. Some valuable gleanings respecting them, as also respecting the early Continental universities, however, may be obtained from the little work named at the head of this article, which though in part founded on recent and quite accessible authorities, yet in several particulars shows no slight original research among older writers, as Conringius, Itter, and others.

We give a single extract, somewhat curious, relating to the origin of the University at Cambridge, in England. The account rests on the authority of Peter of Blois, to whose testimony in this case Hüber finds no insuperable objection, though he gives the story with more brevity than Professor Malden.

"The traditions of the Universities of Paris and Oxford, with regard to their foundation by the famous kings Charlemagne and Alfred, are such as would tempt chroniclers to repeat them without stopping to consider the truth of them; but the tradition of the origin of the University of Cambridge is of so very unpretending a character, that though the external evidence for it is not very strong, it may fairly be left to stand on its own probability. It is said that Joffred, Abbot of Croyland in 1109, successor of Ingulphus, 'sent over to his manor of Cotenham nigh Cambridge, Gislebert, his fellow monk and professor of divinity, and three other monks who followed him into England (from Orleans.) From Cotenham they daily repaired to Cambridge. There they hired a public barn, made open profession of their sciences, and in a little time drew a number of scholars together. In less than two years' time, their number increased so much, from the country as well as town, that there was never a house, barn, or church, big enough to hold them all. Upon which they dispersed themselves in different parts of the town, imitating the University of Orleans.' Three of the party taught the three branches of the Trivium,—grammar, logic, and rhetoric; and Gislebert preached to the people on Sundays and holidays.

An old building is pointed out at this day as the barn in which these missionaries of learning taught, or at least as retaining some portion of its walls." — pp. 91 — 93.

We leave the story as we find it. The book would furnish matter for other extracts, had we space.

President Everett states some of the present and modern applications of the term, University. It would be interesting, did our limits permit, to trace back the several acceptations in which the word has been used since its first introduction. Professor Malden dwells at some length on the frequent misconceptions of the term, which had originally no reference to the *universality* or range of studies pursued; nor is a University, he says, as a recent writer on the subject (Dr. Copleston) calls it, properly a "congeries of foundations," or a "collection and union of Colleges." According to its original meaning, as learned from Charters and Bulls of Popes, a University was simply a corporation of persons met together for teaching and learning, including masters and scholars, recognized as "forming a connected and organized body, and not merely an assemblage of individuals." \* 'One whole out of many individuals,' was thus the original idea of a University, no account being taken of the nature and extent of the branches taught. The term "University" is said to have been for the first time applied to the Parisian School in the ordinance of Pope Innocent III., made through his legate in 1215, though it occurs in a letter of the same pope in 1209. It was sometimes applied to corporate towns, and to the incorporated trades in cities. As applied to schools of learning in subsequent times, it belonged to those which had the power of conferring degrees, a school which had not this power retaining the name of *studium*, or *studium generale*, in which all branches of learning were taught. It was considered as desirable in early times, that the Universities should receive the recognition and sanction of the Papal See, and these were necessary, in fact, to the enjoyment of all the privileges of a University. They rendered the degrees conferred valid throughout Christendom; otherwise they were not. The connection originally, and for a long time, subsisting between the Universities and the Papal

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\* Malden, p. 14. See also p. 100.



See, with a few exceptions, is abundantly proved by the rescripts and decretals of Popes. The struggle for their independence, however, early commenced, though at different periods, and with different success, in different countries. The University of France, (founded in 1808,) and the Church, have been for years in a state of open hostility, and are at this moment in the midst of a violent contest.

Dr. Perry's volume, so far as we know, contains the most recent report, in the form of a distinct treatise, on the subject of German University education. Much ignorance and many crude notions are prevalent both in this country and in England in regard to the character of the German Universities. A common impression seems to be, that the Professors are prodigiously learned, though sadly given to bold and reckless speculation, and the students, a beer-drinking, smoking, brawling, fighting set, only half civilized at best, if so much as that. Indeed the sources of information entitled to confidence on the subject, accessible to the public, have been hitherto somewhat scanty, as we have had to depend mostly on the hasty sketches of travellers, which often contain as much error as truth. Dr. Perry's volume, printed at Bonn, though published in London, gives us something better. A long residence in Germany, first at Göttingen, and afterwards at Bonn, where he is at present fixed, and a "personal intimacy with many distinguished German Professors" have afforded him opportunities of an enlarged acquaintance with the German University system, and these opportunities he appears to have diligently used. The views he has given us are brief, but they contain much useful information and their accuracy we see no reason to doubt.

To the principle of competition among the German Professors, and to the fact that the "national mind, debarred from playing a part" in the exciting game of politics, is "almost wholly turned into literary channels," Dr. Perry ascribes in a great measure the "intense activity which prevails" in the universities. To this must be added the stimulant of ambition, as the Professors, who distinguish themselves, are sure to attract the notice of the Sovereign, and are promoted to the best places in the literary institutions of the land. Hence learning in Germany is mostly

concentrated at the universities. Almost every man of note is connected with the "Great Schools of learning, not as a sinecurist, but as an active coadjutor in the work of education." That some evils, as well as good, result from this condition of things is unquestionably true, and the German Universities furnish no model to be implicitly copied by other nations.

One of the characteristics of the German Universities is, that they "are mainly supported by large grants from the Government, and are under the immediate superintendence and control of a Cabinet minister appointed for the purpose." Whatever benefits may be derived from this superintendence, some inconveniences certainly flow from it. The freedom of teaching is somewhat impaired by it, through this freedom (*Lehrfreiheit*), still exists to an extent, which constitutes a somewhat curious anomaly under the arbitrary Governments of Germany. The consequences of a violation of it on the part of Government affect very seriously the interests of the University. This is illustrated in the recent case of the University of Göttingen, from which seven Professors were dismissed by an order of king Ernest, soon after he ascended the throne of Hanover, in 1837; three of them, Dahlmann, Grimm, and Gervinus, being commanded to "leave the University and Kingdom in three days," the other four being allowed to "remain in Göttingen on condition of good behavior." The effect on the prosperity of the University has been disastrous in the extreme, the number of students being reduced in 1844 to 640, though it was once nearly 2,000. A similar attack on the freedom of teaching more recently occurred in Bavaria. These cases, however, appear to be exceptions. In general, a German Professor, especially if he have a distinguished reputation, is allowed to say almost anything he chooses, his freedom increasing in "exact proportion to his abilities and fame."

The earliest European Universities, as we have seen, the opinion of Meiners to the contrary notwithstanding, existed, if we except Bologna and a few others, in connexion with the church; they succeeded to the conventual and cathedral schools, a demand for the higher studies requiring more ample means than had been hitherto enjoyed. The oldest appears to be that of Paris, the origin of which is

referred to the eleventh century; and on the model of this the German Universities were formed. The first of these Universities, that of Prague was founded about the year 1348; Leipsic, in 1409; Heidelberg, in 1386; Cologne, 1388; Erfurt, 1392; Würzburg, 1403; Rostock, 1419; Greifswalde, 1456; Freiburg, 1457; Treves, 1472; Tübingen and Mainz, 1477; Wittenberg, 1496; Frankfort on the Oder, 1506. Then came the Reformation. The first Protestant University was instituted by Philip of Hesse, at Marburg, in 1527; Königsberg, also founded on free Protestant principles, dates from 1543; Jena, 1558; Kiel, 1665; Halle, 1694. This last soon attained to great eminence, being the first which made use of German instead of Latin in its public exercises. The University of Breslau, founded in 1702, was the enlargement of a Jesuit College. Göttingen, of which so much has been heard, has existed but a little more than a century, having been founded in 1737. It soon bore away the palm from Halle, and continued prosperous till the attack already alluded to was made on its freedom. Those of Berlin and Bonn, now two of the most important of German Universities, are still more recent, the former dating from 1809, and the latter from 1818.

We are compelled to omit some account we had drawn up from Dr. Perry's book, with extracts, relating to the interior organization of German Universities; the different classes of Lecturers and the mode of Lecturing; together with several features of the student life in Germany, and the change it has undergone of late years. The following extract illustrating the taste and habits of the students in regard to exercise and amusements, is all we can give; and this we present the more cheerfully, as it falls in with a topic incidentally noticed by President Everett.

"The Englishman who studies at a German University, cannot but be struck by the want of a taste for manly games which is observable among the Students. They ride but little, they never "boat," they seldom skate, and they know nothing of cricket or boxing. Their only amusements appear to be fencing, skittle-playing, walking, and, of course, conversation over their coffee, wine or beer. All attempts to introduce the noble games of the English Youth have been unavailing. It is impossible not to wish that the German Governments, which are so minute in their attentions to the *mental* wants of their youthful subjects,

would bestow a little more care upon their bodies; and that instead of constantly demanding more and more mental exertion from the boys at their public schools, by increasing the severity of the "maturity examination," they would institute an enquiry into the state of their muscles, and the colour of their cheeks, as compared with those of English lads, and allow them to work less and to play more.

Nothing can be ultimately gained by forcing the boy to undergo unnatural and excessive mental toil; the jaded mind must sooner or later have its rest; and is not that a bad arrangement which lays the heaviest burdens on the earliest years? The best reform in the Gymnasias of Germany, would be the enlargement of their play-grounds, and the introduction (by authority, of course!) of cricket, boxing, boating and foot-ball. The Student would retain and improve upon the sports of his boyhood, and the proposed improvement in the public schools would be followed by a reform in the Universities. The excesses of German College life, are for the most part the reaction from the dull drudgery of the School.

The turbulence of the German Students has, however, been greatly exaggerated. In the better Universities of Germany, there is as little noise, disorder, and drunkenness, as in our own Colleges; and the great majority of the Students are industrious, peaceable, and courteous."—pp. 139—141.

The volume closes with a chapter on the "Statistics of the German Universities," to which and to the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* for the former part of the year 1845,—a somewhat more recent authority than those used by Dr. Perry,—we are indebted for the following particulars. We give them simply as specimens of the means enjoyed and the labor performed in the German Universities; the enumeration, were it desirable, might be easily extended. These Universities, it must be recollected, are, as President Everett observes, "professional schools."

The Theological Faculty at Berlin, has fourteen teachers, including Professors Ordinary, and Extraordinary, and *Privatim Docentes*; the Philosophical, ninety-six; the Law Faculty, eighteen; the Medical, thirty-seven. Theological Students, 287; Law, 513; Medical, 310; Philosophical, 438, etc. Courses of Lectures in the half year, 343. The number of courses in the Theological department, 34; in the Law, 39; in Medicine, 86; the Philosophical, Mathematical and Natural Sciences, 86; Politics, etc. 18; Philology, etc. 52; History and Geography, etc. 13. The

*Literatur-Zeitung* gives the subjects of the various courses, with the names of the lecturers, from which we learn the extent of ground travelled over and the variety and richness of the matters treated. The same Professor frequently delivers two or more courses. Thus in theology Neander is announced as delivering four courses, Uhlemann, two, Hengstenberg, three, etc.; the thirty-four courses in theology being divided among fourteen Professors. A large portion of the Professors lecture on the same subject five times, or five hours, a week, some six, others three or two. From the number of courses and the subjects announced, admitting that a large portion of these courses are delivered, we may infer the immense amount of labor performed by the German Professors. But then their time is not taken up by recitations — lectures constituting the sole mode of teaching in the German Universities, — and the principle of the division of labor is carried to an extent elsewhere unknown. Thus in the theological department, different periods of Church history are treated by different Professors, and a single book of the Bible or a single Epistle forms the subject of a course; and sometimes the same book, of two courses by two different Professors.

Dr. Perry gives as the sum received by the University of Berlin from the Prussian Government "about £15,500 per annum," though he says, that within the last few years this sum must have been considerably increased; from other sources about £470; fees for matriculation and graduation nearly £2,400, which is divided among the members of the Faculties. The fees paid by the students to the Professors amount to £10,300, the number of students being given as 1,757, besides others entitled to hear the lectures, making in all 2,140, or according to the *Literatur-Zeitung*, for the winter term of 1844-5, 2,015.

The same journal assigns to the University of Bonn for the winter semester seventy-eight teachers, fourteen of them belonging to the Theological Faculties, Protestant and Catholic, being equally divided between them. The number of students belonging to the University is given as 721. Breslau has not far from the same number of both teachers and pupils, the Theological Faculty consisting of three Catholic and ten Protestant teachers. The number of students at Leipsic, Tübingen, and Heidelberg, is a little

greater; Halle has a little over 700; the number at Göttingen has already been given; Giessen, Würzburg, and Jena have between 400 and 500 students each; several other Universities have a smaller number, and Munich between 1,300 and 1,400. The number of Professors varies, but the specifications above given will be sufficient to enable our readers to form some general opinion on the subject. Dr. Perry states at a "rough computation" the number of German Professors in all as amounting to 1,500, and the students 15,000, "instructed through the medium of the German language."

We cannot close our remarks, to which, however wide the range they may appear to have taken, we have been led by the very suggestive and prolific Address which has furnished the subject of this article, without availing ourselves of this first opportunity which has presented itself since the Inauguration of President Everett, to add to the language of gratulation which has arisen on every side, a few words expressive of our own deep sense of the great good fortune which has accrued to our ancient University, and to the cause of science and liberal culture, by his acceptance of the high trust on the duties of which he has entered. No event could have been hailed throughout the land, by every friend of learning and of sound moral and intellectual education, and every lover of the truest glory of his country, with a more sincere and profound joy. Not a single discordant note, not a whisper of discontent at his elevation to the high post he now occupies, has been heard from any party, or so far as we know, from any individual. All strife respecting the College, the sounds of which had been for months falling harshly on our ears, has suddenly ceased. All hearts have welcomed his coming to take the oversight and guidance of the "oldest establishment for secular education on this Western continent." He has brought his well earned fame, all the stores of his rich and varied learning, all his valuable experience, and the powers of his vigorous intellect, yet in its prime, and like a dutiful son laid them at the feet of his venerable Alma Mater, who, to adopt the language employed of the chief magistrate of the Commonwealth in the ceremony of investiture, had "adorned" him "with her brightest honors, and bade"

him "go forth into the world." Important as are the services he has already rendered to his country, at home and abroad, it is felt, we believe, universally, that he has yet higher to render. For ourselves, we anticipate the noblest results from his administration of the affairs of the University. We are fully aware of the responsibility of his position. In regard to the most important influences which can be brought to bear on the minds of the young, — those of a moral and religious character, — the closing part of his Address, which we know was heard with peculiar satisfaction, inspires us with the strongest confidence for the future. The end he proposes commends itself to all who have at heart the best interests of education among us, and should he succeed, by well advised measures, in attaining it, he will secure a warmth of gratitude which, added to his own consciousness of high aims, he will feel to be more valuable than all the laurels which now flourish green on his brow.

In conclusion, we may say of the pamphlet entitled "Addresses at the Inauguration," etc. that it contains, besides a notice of the proceedings of the day, and President Everett's own larger Address, the neat and appropriate Address of Governor Briggs, on investing him with the trust, and the President's Reply; an Oration in Latin, marked by fit sentiment and classical diction, by George M. Lane, of the Senior class; and also the Addresses delivered at table by President Hitchcock, of Amherst College, and Professor Silliman of Yale, both worthy of the reputation of their distinguished authors, and inserted in the pamphlet as "not having been fully reported in the papers." In addition to their intrinsic merit, they are valuable as affording gratifying evidence of the good understanding and kind feeling existing between Harvard and her sister institutions. We cannot better bring our present article to an end than by giving the "sentiments" with which the gentlemen just alluded to concluded their remarks. — "*The sacred Fire of Learning, first kindled by our Pilgrim Fathers upon the altars of Harvard,* — with such a priest to guard and fan it as has this day been consecrated, we need not fear that it will be extinguished, or its splendor diminished." — "*Perpetuity and Prosperity to Harvard.*"

A. L.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*Self-Formation ; or, the History of an Individual Mind: Intended as a Guide for the Intellect through Difficulties to Success.* By a FELLOW OF A COLLEGE. First American from the London Edition. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 12mo. pp. 504.

Of the authorship, age, or history of this book, nothing is told, and we know nothing. It has had a good name abroad, and the favor with which it was welcomed here by the few who received it from England, has now led to its publication in Boston, with a preface from some one at Cambridge. That preface says — “it is, almost without question, the most valuable and useful work upon the subject of self-education that has yet appeared in our own, if not in any other language.” This may be true, if intended only as comparative. But as a positive assertion, it implies more than a perusal of the book prepares us to admit. We should not speak of it disparagingly, nor yet extravagantly. It has decided excellencies, and obvious defects. Its plan is one of the best,—the writer’s familiar and easy account of his own progress in mental and moral development, from infancy to maturity. He shows us the many difficulties to which a boy is subjected in the usual modes of teaching and discipline, both in school and college, particularly in the high schools of England. And the aim and moral of the book is, to show that these and all difficulties, however great, are constantly aggravated by the wrong temper with which they are encountered, and may be wholly overcome by a docile, resolute, and religious spirit. In this plan and purpose there is nothing novel, but in the execution there is freshness, if not originality. By his own real or supposed case, the writer takes us along with him step by step through the whole course of education, showing us the child, the learner, the idler, the thinker, the castle-builder, gambler, sportsman, pedant, and the sober-minded, religious man. The narrative is broken by constant digressions, sometimes tedious, and discussions, short or long, of almost all questions belonging to education and “self-formation.” Many of these discussions are able, all are suggestive. But we should enjoy them more, if they were fewer, and less interlarded with quotations from various languages. The style of the whole is diffuse to a fault, and yet has attractions that carry us on, and reward us in the end. With less of the religious element and influence than we hoped to find, there is apparent, throughout, a high regard for religion, a painful sense of its absence in him-



self and in even the best schools of England, and a disposition to give it its true place in all mental training. Exactly the writer's views of religion, the opinions with which he begins or ends, it is not easy to determine. He says he had been taught, that it was "certain speculative doctrines that constituted Christianity;" and one or two expressions show that these doctrines were of the narrowest and darkest kind. Still they seem to have had little influence over him, and he gives a sad account of their effect, or want of effect, on the clergy of the Established Church.

In a word, the book contains a great deal, — much that is doubtful in taste and value, more that is sound, practical, and encouraging. It is a book particularly for the young man, and the student; and judiciously used, it cannot fail to be of essential benefit. Had such a book been put into our hands in early life, we are confident it would have proved a better guide, a more effective monitor and teacher, than any treatise we then found, or can now name, on the subject of self-culture. At the same time, we can conceive of a much better book, and only wonder that so able a writer did not make a better. H.

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*Lessons on the Parables of the Saviour, for Sunday Schools and Families.* By Rev. F. D. HUNTINGTON. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 18mo. pp. 246.

*Questions adapted to the Text of the New Testament, designed for Children in Sunday Schools: with Hints for explanation and remark by the Teachers.* Number Two. Luke and John. By C. SOULE CARTEE, one of the Superintendents of Harvard Church Sunday School, Charlestown, Mass. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 18mo. pp. 96.

We have more than once taken occasion to express gratification at perceiving a growing disposition amongst those who have had largest experience in Sunday schools, and who have bestowed the most thought upon systems of religious instruction proper to be employed in them, to make a more liberal and thorough use of the Bible, and especially of the New Testament. We are fully convinced that that "best of books" should be the source and centre of the instructions of the Sunday school, and that, in the hands of an enlightened and judicious teacher, it will furnish and suggest inexhaustible materials for interesting as well as profitable conversations and lessons.

Mr. Huntington's book is a new and valuable confirmation of the justice of this opinion. It illustrates, better than any Sunday school book we have yet seen, the fruitfulness of the New Testament in subjects of conversation with the young, and the

true method of educating and presenting them. Selecting only the Parables of Jesus, Mr. Huntington has endeavored, by means of questions and answers, to unfold and apply the practical doctrines which they illustrate and enforce, so as to bring them home with simplicity and distinctness to the mind and heart of children, and thus to "bring their sacred influence into the familiar sphere where the scholars are daily living, into their homes, their employments and their pleasures." The questions are generally pointed and clear, the answers succinct and forcible. The volume as a whole shows much more *thought* than any collection of Questions on the Bible with which we are acquainted, and is calculated to excite thought in the minds of those who use it. It does not treat of the "external matters of Geography, History, etc." — which we presume the author does not intend to undervalue, — but deals rather with "the great points of spiritual doctrine," which he justly thinks "children are capable of grasping."

Of the plan and merits of Mr. Cartee's work we have already spoken with approbation in noticing the first number. "Number two" comprises questions and hints on those parts of Luke and John which were not fully treated in the volume on Matthew, and thus completes the series of questions on the Evangelists.

R.

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*Memoir of Henry Augustus Ingalls.* By Rev. GEORGE W. BURNAP, Pastor of the First Independent Church of Baltimore. With Selections from his Writings. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 210.

A LAD, ten years old, leaves his native town on the banks of the Merrimac, and finds a home in the city of New York. After some time spent at school, he becomes a clerk in a dry goods shop, and then in an Insurance Office. While engaged in this vocation, he is arrested by disease; and having in vain sought relief in a Southern climate, he dies before he has reached the age of twenty-one. So much — hardly more — of what the world calls incident, marked the passage of Henry Augustus Ingalls from the cradle to the grave. And yet here is a volume, containing "Selections from his Writings," which fill one hundred and thirty-three pages, and a "Memoir" occupying half as many, in which several professional gentlemen of distinction and others testify to the remarkable purity, elevation, and influence of his character. How he so early attained to such intellectual and moral excellence, amidst the pressure of secular business, without either extraordinary natural abilities or adventitious circumstances unusually favorable, and how he so conducted himself as, while living, to win love and confidence

wherever he was known, and, when dead, not only to be cherished most affectionately and respectfully in the recollections of his equals in age and associates in pursuit, but also to be commemorated in print by such men as Rev. Mr. Clapp of Savannah, Rev. Mr. Burnap of Baltimore, Drs. Dewey and Fitch of New York, — our young readers, we hope, will seek an opportunity to learn from the book itself. They cannot fail to find the lessons it teaches, both interesting and useful to them. We particularly advise those to peruse it, who deem maturity of years and propitious events essential to success in the formation of character, or imagine that high attainments of a moral and religious kind in early life and amidst common avocations are sure to pass unhonored, if not unobserved. B.

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*Scripture Proofs and Scriptural Illustrations of Unitarianism.*

By JOHN WILSON. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Chapman, Brothers. 1846. 8vo. pp. 346.

THIS book carries the evidence of much patient industry on the part of the author. Mr. Wilson likewise displays great skill in the arrangement of his materials. In the edition before us he has made a change in the form of the Second Part, which may have been required by the additional matter he wished to introduce, but the method adopted does not seem to us any simpler, or more convenient, than the tabular form used in the previous editions. Indeed we should have preferred the original plan of having the "illustrative texts" set down in a parallel column with the passages they were designed to illustrate.

Every text connected with the Trinitarian controversy, on both sides of the question, is noticed in this volume. The book is divided into two Parts. The first of these contains "the Scripture Evidence for Unitarianism;" the second, "the alleged Scripture Evidence for Trinitarianism." In the First Part, besides quoting the texts as they appear in the authorised version, Mr. Wilson furnishes us, in many cases, with a variety of renderings by scholars of acknowledged eminence; and throughout the whole he presents us with a series of forcible and pertinent remarks of his own. In the Second Part he not only cites the controverted texts in full, but also gives "illustrative texts" to throw light on the meaning of the prominent terms which appear in them. He likewise introduces lengthened quotations from various theological writers, both Trinitarian and Unitarian; the whole accompanied, as in the former Part, with judicious observations from his own pen. At the close of the volume he gives a condensed view of the state of the controversy. He presents us with the "Summary of Evidence for Unitarianism,"

and the "Deficiency of Evidence for Trinitarianism" in parallel columns, with references to the pages of the work itself. This arrangement, with the index of texts given also at the close, enables the reader to reach the precise point he wishes without any trouble. We regard the book as a very valuable one. The present edition contains many useful and important improvements. It is a manual which would be found exceedingly useful by every individual who is desirous to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the Trinitarian controversy. We understand that the work is for sale in Boston. c.

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*A Journal of the Life, Gospel Labors, and Christian Experiences of that faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, John Woolman, late of Mount-Holly, in the Province of New Jersey, North America. To which are added his last Epistle, and other Writings.* New York. 1845. 12mo. pp. 309.

WE shall say nothing of the "Christian Experiences" of John Woolman which, with his travels and a general account of his life, are embodied in a "Journal" comprising about half the present volume. He was a minister of the Society of Friends or Quakers. Born in New Jersey in 1720, he died while on a visit to England in 1772. He was a devout and good man; but the feature in his life and character, which possesses special interest at the present day, is the deep concern he manifested for his fellow-beings holden in slavery, and the efforts he made for their release at a period when much less sensibility was felt on the subject than now. These efforts did not consist in loud or fierce denunciation, but in the spirit of Christian love he visited those "who had slaves," calmly talking and reasoning with them, appealing to their consciences and endeavoring to make them feel, that to hold a fellow-being in bondage was unjust and unchristian. These visits commenced as early as about the middle of the last century. Before this time he began to write on the subject, and showed the manuscript to his friends. The second half of the volume contains his writings, among which are "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, recommended to the Professors of Christianity of every Denomination," in two parts, the first printed, for the first time, in 1754, the second in 1762, both making about forty pages. They are loosely written, without any pretension to grace or elegance, yet we have never seen any writings on the subject more completely pervaded, we may say saturated, with the Christian spirit—the spirit of gentleness and love. In this respect they are a model which, we wish, was oftener imitated. The present volume appears to have been prepared in England, and is, we suppose a reprint, though it does not profess to be such. L.

*Forecastle Tom; or the Landsman turned Sailor.* By MARY S. B. DANA, Author of "The Northern and Southern Harps," "The Young Sailor," etc., etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1846. 12mo. pp. 216.

THOUGH Mrs. Dana has published several works of merit both in poetry and prose, yet most of our readers probably owe their acquaintance with her fine powers as a writer, as well as with her deeply affecting history, to the remarkable book entitled "Letters addressed to Relatives and Friends, chiefly in reply to Arguments in support of the Trinity," which we had the pleasure of noticing last November. The volume now before us, we have been informed, was composed and put into the publishers' hands before the change in the author's views, recorded in the "Letters," had taken place; which will account for the appearance in its pages of some expressions of a theological import, that she would not, with her present more accurate faith, be inclined to use. Excepting what this remark implies—which after all does not amount to much—we commend this interesting story as one that seems to us exceedingly well suited to benefit a large class of young persons, especially those whose pursuits are chiefly on the ocean. The lessons it inculcates, respecting the evils that arise from disregard of parental discipline, the fearful consequences of strong passions uncontrolled by virtuous principle, the moral dangers to which sailors are exposed both at sea and on land, and the power of the Christian religion when administered in love to reclaim the vicious, are all true and pertinent; and they are often enforced by the most apt and pathetic illustrations. Readers who find it easy to sin, but hard to repent, are particularly referred to the concluding part of the narrative, where the scene is shifted from the depressing consciousness of guilt to the happy feelings of a reformed heart. B.

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*Thoughts of Blaise Pascal. Translated from the French. Preceded by a Sketch of his Life.* Andover: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell. 1846. 12mo. pp. 384.

THIS edition claims to be the only one which contains a translation of the whole of Pascal's published thoughts. It is a work which, notwithstanding its fragmentary character, can never lose its value. Every page bears the marks of the author's very remarkable mind. This volume contains the first rude sketches of a work in defence of the truth of Christianity. There is something sublime in the plan which he seems to have formed. It is no mere dry process of logic, but the argument throughout is alive with feeling. The foundation-stones on

which he builds the fabric, are, the greatness of which man is capable, and the extremity of his actual misery. These facts, which he himself felt so intensely as almost to be brought to the borders of insanity, made, in his view, a religion like Christianity absolutely essential, in order that man might know any peace or hope.

But with all his great powers, the views of Pascal need to be received with many qualifications. He is one of that class of writers, of which St. Augustine is a remarkable example, whose thoughts are suggested by their emotions. They are invaluable in their place — most fruitful in profitable suggestions, and most untrustworthy as guides.

P.

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*The Missionary Enterprise: A Collection of Discourses on Christian Missions, by American Authors.* Edited by BARON Stow, Pastor of Baldwin Place Church, Boston. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1846. 12mo. pp. 308.

Two facts surprise us in reading collections of Missionary Sermons. The first is, the very small amount of information we derive from them as a whole on the subject of the statistics and success of missions, the religious views and character of the people to whom missionaries have been sent, and the changes wrought in their moral and social condition by the introduction of Christianity among them. The other is, the great coolness preserved by the speakers, by many of them at least, while professing to believe that, but for missionary efforts, some hundreds of millions of their fellow beings now in existence, and countless multitudes more who are to follow them, will in a few years go down to endless torment. These characteristics do not mark all missionary sermons, — not all those contained in the present volume. They should not mark any. How men can get up at the meetings of these Boards for Foreign Missions, and enter on a dry, scholastic, or metaphysical discussion on the Trinity or some other theological point, and send their hearers away without having received one particle of light on any subject connected with missions and their object, or heard one soul-stirring word, exceeds our power of comprehension. We do not mean to condemn the volume before us. It contains some excellent discourses, some very indifferent ones, and some positively bad; some free from the taint of sectarianism, others not; some rational, others exhibiting specimens of the worst theology of the dark ages. Still the volume will to many, no doubt, prove acceptable as well for its theology as its other characteristics.

L.

*An Epistolary Declaration and Testimony of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, for New England, respecting the Proceedings of those who have effected a Schism therein; and also showing the Contrast between the Doctrines which they have promulgated and supported and those which have always been held by Friends.* Providence. 1845. 8vo. pp. 68.

*An Address from Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting of Friends, to the Members of that Religious Society within the Limits of New England Yearly Meeting and elsewhere.* New York. 1845. 8vo. pp. 48.

*Narrative of Facts and Circumstances that have tended to produce a Secession from the Society of Friends, in New England Yearly Meeting.* Providence. 1845. 8vo. pp. 44 and 24.

*Calmny Refuted; or, a Glance at John Wilbur's Book.* Second edition. With a few prefatory Remarks. London. 1846. 8vo. pp. 17 and 92.

*Considerations addressed to the Members of the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia.* Philadelphia. 1846. 8vo. pp. 86.

THE accumulation of these pamphlets, all of which have been sent to us since the publication of the article on the "Schism in the Society of Friends" in a late number of our journal, shows how strong an interest the subject has excited. The first and second of them we had read, and used in writing that article. They contain a narrative of the events that led to the separation of J. Wilbur and his friends from the old Yearly Meeting, and a justification of his conduct in reference to that transaction. The third we had also consulted. It is published by authority of the Yearly Meeting and defends its proceedings on the ground, that "doctrines were not at all in question; but the support of Christian order and the Discipline." We conceive that it is neither tenable nor right, to insist that a matter of discipline should take precedence of a doctrinal difference that threatens to terminate the existence of the Society as a separate organization. The fourth is a defence of Mr. Gurney against the charge of departing from the doctrines and testimonies of the primitive Quakers. During the controversy between J. Wilbur and the Yearly Meeting, the latter uniformly treated it as a matter of discipline, and justified their proceedings against him on the ground, that by bringing charges of unsound doctrine against an accredited minister he was violating the regulations established by the Society for such cases; whereas Mr. Wilbur insisted that this was a far more important question than one of discipline, namely, a question of doctrine,—that Mr. Gurney taught doctrines inconsistent with those which the Society had always maintained. The Meeting would never consent to

a public examination of Mr. Gurney's opinions and a comparison of them with the standard authorities of their Church. In the Tract, "Calumny Refuted," this comparison is instituted. After reading it carefully we are constrained to say, that the resemblance between his doctrines and those of the early Friends is rather verbal than real, and that the allegation of a departure from the acknowledged standards of the Society is fully sustained. The last of the above mentioned documents is by far the most important to a correct understanding of this controversy, of any that have fallen under our notice. It is a review of the proceedings in the case of John Wilbur written with remarkable intelligence and candor. We think it must produce in the minds of impartial readers a conviction, that Wilbur's offence consisted in his strictures upon the doctrines advocated by Mr. Gurney, and in his assertions and offers to prove that they contradicted the fundamental principles of Quakerism.

We have no personal or denominational interest in this controversy. We stand as observers outside the parties concerned in it. And it seems to us very singular, that while members of various religious denominations, widely differing in their opinions from each other, can discover not only a difference between the doctrines of Mr. Gurney and those of the primitive Friends, but an absolute discordance between them, many of the Quaker Society can see nothing but harmony. To our minds the difference is as distinctly marked as that between rigid Calvinism and Arminianism.

M.

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*Catalogue of Works in Refutation of Methodism, from its Origin in 1729, to the present time. Of those by Methodist Authors on Lay-representation, Methodist Episcopacy, etc., and of the Political Pamphlets relating to Wesley's "Calm Address to our American Colonies."* Compiled by H. C. DECANVER. Philadelphia. 1846. 8vo. pp. 54.

To those who have ever been engaged in historical inquiries, or in tracing the origin and progress of opinions, controversies, or sects, of whatever nature, nothing need be said in commendation of an undertaking like that of Mr. Decanver in this publication. His "Catalogue" embraces, as he informs us, the titles of "two hundred and seventy-seven anti-Methodistical works, fifty-five by Methodist Authors, eighty-two miscellaneous, and twenty political." A few explanations and comments are sometimes added, particularly in regard to Mr. Wesley's "Calm Address to the American Colonies," 1775. Wesley's "calmness," it was remarked, "is only to be found in his title pages," — no uncommon occurrence.

L.



*M. T. Ciceronis De Natura Deorum Libri Tres. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ.* Cura C. K. DILLAWAY, A. M. Tom. I. et II. Philadelphie. 1846. 12mo. pp. 150, 144.

Two exceedingly neat little volumes, containing Cicero's treatise on the Nature of the Gods, with English notes by Mr. C. K. Dillaway, whose labors in editing entitle him to the gratitude of the friends of classical learning among us. The volumes form the eleventh and twelfth of his series, the merits of which are too well known to require an extended notice at our hands.

L.

*A Sermon, preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Oliver W. B. Peabody, as Pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Burlington.* By WILLIAM B. O. PEABODY, D. D., Minister in Springfield, Mass. With the Remarks of Rev. JOHN CORDNER, on giving the Fellowship of the Churches. August 14th, 1845. Burlington. 1846. 8vo. pp. 24.

*A Discourse on the Cambridge Church-Gathering in 1636; delivered in the First Church, on Sunday, Feb. 22, 1846.* By WILLIAM NEWELL, Pastor of the First Church in Cambridge. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1846. 8vo. pp. 65.

*The Deceased Pastor still speaking to his Flock. A Discourse delivered March 14, 1846, in the North Church in Salem, the first Sabbath on which the Church was opened after the Decease of the Rev. John Brazer, D. D., late Pastor of the Congregation worshipping in said Church.* By JAMES FLINT, D. D., Pastor of the East Church. Salem. 1846. 8vo. pp. 22.

*A Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the Chapel of the Church of the Saviour.* Sunday, April 19, 1846. By the Pastor, R. C. WATERSTON. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 8vo. pp. 23.

*A Discourse delivered in the First Church, Boston, before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, June 1, 1846, being the CCVIIIth Anniversary.* By GEORGE E. ELLIS, Pastor of Harvard Church, Charlestown. Boston. 1846. 8vo. pp. 31.

*A Lecture on Temperance, delivered in Harvard Church, Charlestown.* By GEORGE E. ELLIS. Boston. 1846. 8vo. pp. 22.

*The Memory of the late James Grahame, the Historian of the United States, Vindicated from the charges of "Detraction" and "Calumny" preferred against him by Mr. George Bancroft, and the Conduct of Mr. Bancroft towards that Historian stated and exposed.* By JOSEPH QUINCY. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 8vo. pp. 59.

*Poverty: its Illegal Causes, and Legal Cure.* Part I. By VOL. XLI. — 4TH S. VOL. VI. NO. I. 13.

LYSANDER SPOONER. Boston : Bela Marsh. 1846. 8vo. pp. 168.

*Boston : A Poem.* Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 16mo. pp. 46.

DR. PEABODY'S Discourse exhibits his usual quiet beauty and truthfulness, and well illustrates the great and silent influence of character in a minister. — Mr. Newell's is one of the most beautiful historical discourses which we have ever read. It is alike admirable in conception and execution. The gathering of the first church in Cambridge, as appears from Winthrop's Journal, was an occasion of great and general interest. Taking this event as the central point and thus giving to his discourse the unity of a historical picture, he groups around it the men who were then eminent in our New England Church and State. For the back-ground of the scene, he has the winter and the forest, and the rude beginnings of the town. He brings before the eye of the spectator the Winthrops, Dudley, Vane, Haynes, Cotton, Hugh Peters, and others, who were then the leading spirits of the colony and worthy of perpetual memory. This general picture he has illustrated by numerous notes and an appendix, showing a careful accuracy of research, which must make the discourse as valuable to the antiquarian as it is interesting to the general reader. — Dr. Flint does not go into any biographical details, but inculcates the serious lessons to be derived from the death of one accustomed to speak on the great themes of religion — on death and eternity. — Mr. Waterston's Discourse, interesting as it must have been to the hearers, will have a permanent value, as giving some account of the origin of the society to which he ministers and the principles on which it is established. — Mr. Ellis's Discourse before the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company" contains a noble plea for peace, urged in language which, though plain and decided and showing a manly independence of thought, cannot, we think, be justly charged with discourtesy to those at whose call it was delivered. — In his Lecture on Temperance he treats an old topic in an impressive way, leaves the beaten track, and sets forth important views and arguments in a style of great clearness and force. — The object of Mr. Quincy's pamphlet is fully expressed in the title. It is only necessary to say, that the vindication is, as it seems to us, complete, and leaves nothing more to be desired on the part of the friends of Mr. Grahame. — We freely accord to Mr. Spooner the praise of benevolent intention, but must suspend a decision on the merits of his publication in other respects till its completion, this, as he intimates, being the first of four Parts. — The Poem entitled "Boston" appears to be an offering of sincere and warm admiration of the living and the dead, but, as a poetical production, we cannot say we think it entitled to praise.

## INTELLIGENCE.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*Ecclesiastical Record.*—Ill health and other causes continue to render changes in the ministry of frequent occurrence.—Rev. Dr. Dewey of New York having informed his people of his inability to supply the pulpit as their minister, an arrangement has been made, by which his connexion with them is dissolved, except so far as to leave him under an engagement to preach to them three months in each year.—Rev. Mr. Sears of Lancaster, of whom we spoke some time ago, as laboring under disease, after resuming the duties of the pulpit and finding himself unequal to their discharge, has been requested by his people to take a still longer period of release from all public and parochial service.—Rev. Mr. Muzzey of Cambridgeport has, on his own request, received a dismissal from his pastoral charge.—Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Lynn has also relinquished his ministry in that place.—Rev. Mr. Parkman of Dover N. H. has sailed for Europe, intending to pass between one and two years abroad. His pulpit will be supplied during a part of his absence by Rev. Dr. Thompson of Barre.—Rev. Mr. Dall, formerly of Baltimore, has taken charge of the ministry at large in Portsmouth N. H. for two years.

The corner-stone of the meetinghouse which the congregation that attend on Rev. Mr. Waterston's ministry are erecting in this city, was laid with religious services on the Wednesday morning of anniversary week, May 27, 1846. An address was delivered by Mr. Waterston, prayers were offered, and appropriate hymns were sung.—The Unitarian society at East Boston have taken a lease of a meeting-house formerly occupied by the Universalists, and are increasing in number.—A new society has been formed at Elgin, Ill., through the labors of Rev. Mr. Conant.—We observe in some of the religious papers notice of the gathering of a *Presbyterian* church in Boston.—We cannot but remark upon the practice which has lately arisen, and seems to find much favor,—of giving names to houses of public worship, erected by Congregationalists. In our own denomination we have already three churches “of the Saviour;” two churches “of the Messiah;” one “church of the Divine Unity;” and one “church of the Unity;” besides “the church of the Pilgrims,” and we know not what other designation may have been found for other edifices, like those which in former days we were content to call by the plain title of meetinghouse, in such or such a town, or in such or such a street. We should be glad if a word of ours might help to discourage a practice which has so little to recommend it. To our ears it savours of a fondness for the ways of those Communion from which our fathers thought it their glory to depart, and we cannot bring ourselves to like this turning of words, with which we ought to have the most sacred and tender associations, into titles of earthly edifices, by which they soon lose their sanctity and real meaning. It appears to us that both correct sentiment and pure taste must pronounce against the prevalence of such a custom; nor do we see any possible advantage of which it can be productive.

*The Anniversary Meetings.*—We cannot omit all notice of the recent anniversary occasions without leaving our record of religious affairs very incomplete. Yet such full and accurate accounts of the meetings in which our readers take the most interest, have appeared in the journals whose time of publication gives them the advantage of freshness in their contents, that we need only present an outline of the proceedings. On the whole, the meetings held in our own denomination were marked by more than usual animation, and resulted in valuable influences. This remark is especially true in reference to the American Unitarian Association. At the meetings for business discussions of great importance were conducted in a tone of the utmost frankness, and with singular earnestness both of individual conviction and of mutual good-will; while we may safely say that the addresses at the public celebration of the anniversary of this institution were never surpassed, in the lofty Christian eloquence by which they were distinguished. The discussions at the Ministerial Conference were also free and cordial, and the morning prayer-meetings were highly enjoyed by those who were present at them. The "Collation," though more fully attended than on any previous year, had not quite so much of delightful interest as we have known to belong to it. The deepest impression which every one, we believe, must have carried away from an attendance on the services of the anniversary week, was derived from an observation of the harmony of sentiment which prevailed amidst considerable difference of opinion. Great plainness of speech seemed only to afford opportunity for the exhibition of great friendliness of feeling, and if it was manifest that there was no ecclesiastical pressure to keep us together, it was quite as evident that there was no personal bitterness to drive us apart. Respect and confidence towards one another, with wide diversity of judgment, were seen to be the grounds of our union and the security of our independence.

It would be impossible for us even to enumerate all the religious and philanthropic associations which held their annual meetings in our city during the week "of our solemnities." The attendance of persons from the vicinity and from distant places manifestly increases with every year. Some of these meetings derived more than usual interest from the variety of opinion which was expressed in regard to the measures that had been, or should be pursued to promote the objects which they had in view. At the American Peace Society a discussion of some moment arose respecting the connexion which this Society had been unjustly thought to hold with other purposes than that which is expressed in its Constitution. The result was, an affirmation of the principle, that its single object is an exposure of the unchristian character of war. The Prison Discipline Society was agitated by a debate, conducted with ability, on the course which the Society had adopted in reference to the question concerning the merits of the *separate* and the *congregate* systems of penitentiary discipline. The propriety of the past action of the Society was reaffirmed, but the matter was placed in the hands of a Committee for farther examination.—From the reports we have seen of the meetings of the Trinitarian Congregational Associations this year, we judge that they rather fell below the usual measure of interest and profit. The Baptist anniversaries seem to have given satisfaction.—We see the introduction of a social meeting, the idea of which we sus

pect was borrowed from our Collation. On one of the evenings of the anniversary week "some six or eight hundred gentlemen of different religious denominations took tea together, by invitation from a Committee of arrangements," in one of the rooms of the Tremont Temple. "A free interchange of thought and feeling," with one or two addresses, seems to have rendered it an agreeable occasion.—The most remarkable meeting of the week, in respect to the character of its proceedings, was that held by the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, at which speeches were made and resolutions passed, that we can regard only with amazement and grief, as coming from men, some of whom we have honored for their purity of purpose as much as we have loved them for their sweetness of temper. How they can adopt or encourage such invective against the institutions of the land, civil and sacred, and against those whose only offence is a difference of judgment, is what we find it difficult to explain.

The anniversary meetings in New York, which took place a fortnight earlier than in Boston, appear to have been marked by nothing unusual. The financial affairs of the several Societies were in a good state, some which had been embarrassed having relieved themselves from debt, and their operations the last year indicated efficient management. We observe that, as in former years, the addresses were made almost wholly by clergymen. It is certainly a little remarkable, that in this country, where the gift of speech is exercised with such extraordinary self-satisfaction on every other subject, men cannot be found to speak at a public religious meeting unless they have been accustomed to stand up in a pulpit.

The triennial meetings of the General Assemblies of the Old School and New School Presbyterian Church, recently held in Philadelphia, were signalized by discussions of great interest and ability. In the latter body especially, the debate in regard to the action which the Assembly should take on the subject of Slavery, prolonged through several days, was one of the most remarkable ever held in this country. Southern, Northern, and Western men expressed themselves with the utmost freedom and strength of conviction, but in most cases without asperity. Some advocated the passage of strong anti-slavery resolutions; some defended slavery on moral and Scriptural grounds; some advised no action on the subject; and some were in favor of an explicit but moderate declaration of opinion, condemning Slavery, but leaving any question of ecclesiastical censure which might arise out of its existence to the inferior judicatories. This last course was adopted by a large majority. In the Old School Assembly much time was spent in debating a proposal to unite with the other Assembly in celebrating the Lord's Supper; which was rejected, on the ground that it was contrary to usage to unite formally with any other ecclesiastical body in that service. It was plain, however, that many of the members regarded this as a first step towards a reunion of the Assemblies, which they deprecated and argued against. The New School Presbyterians are evidently more disposed to overlook the difference and heal the breach between themselves and their former associates, than are the Old School men. It is mournful in reading the reports of these meetings, to observe with what deference the standards of the Church are adduced in argument, as being of at least equal authority with the Bible.

An ecclesiastical demonstration has lately been made in the city of Baltimore, which was doubtless intended to impress the people with a sense of the magnificence and majesty of the Romish Church. The Sixth Provincial Council of the Roman Catholic Church of the United States was held in the Cathedral, with great pomp, and all the showy solemnities of religion which Popery knows so well how to gather about its institutions. Twenty-two bishops and one archbishop were present. Besides the public services, the regular business of the Council was transacted, and six "decrees" were passed.

*American Unitarian Association.*—This body celebrated their twenty-first anniversary on Tuesday, May 26, 1846. The meeting for business was opened at 9 o'clock, in the chapel in Bedford Street. The President and Vice Presidents being absent, Rev. Charles Brooks of Boston was called to the chair. Prayer was offered by Mr. Brooks. Some discussion arose in regard to the nomination of officers for the ensuing year, the constitution of the Executive Committee, and the salary of the General Secretary, which was finally fixed at \$1,500. An adjournment then took place till the evening, when the Association, in the Channing Street Vestry, accepted the Treasurer's Report, — which presented a sum total of receipts the last year, of \$15,035.06; expenditures, \$14,835.33, — and made choice of officers for the present year, viz. Rev. Orville Dewey D. D. *President*; *Vice Presidents*, those chosen last year, with the exception of J. B. Whitridge M. D. of Charleston S. C., in the place of the late Henry Payson Esq.; Rev. Charles Briggs, *General Secretary*; Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, *Assistant Secretary*; Mr. Henry P. Fairbanks, *Treasurer*; Rev. James F. Clarke, Rev. Ephraim Peabody, Rev. Frederick D. Huntington, Rev. Frederick T. Gray, Mr. Isaiah Bangs, and Mr. Charles K. Dillaway, *Directors*. The Association then adjourned to the Federal Street meetinghouse, where the public meeting was held. On Thursday morning they again met for business in the Bedford Street chapel, Rev. Mr. Brooks in the chair. The expediency of maintaining the office of Travelling Agent was made the subject of discussion, which was pursued till the hour for attending the religious services of the Convention of Congregational Ministers, and was resumed in the afternoon. We have never listened to a discussion marked by more simple honesty of purpose or practical directness of remark. It resulted in a unanimous adoption of a series of resolutions expressing 1. a belief that the business of the Association and its opportunities for useful action had so increased, that it was proper such an office should be established; 2. that the trial of the last year had strengthened the conviction of its importance; 3. that it should thenceforth be considered a permanent part of the arrangements of the Association; 4. that the appointment of the Agent should be vested in the hands of the Executive Committee, to be made annually; 5. that the salary attached to the office should be determined by the Committee, under the condition that it should not exceed \$1,000; 6. that the Committee should be authorized to prescribe and distribute the duties of the Travelling Agent and the General Secretary, in such a manner as may best promote their efficiency; 7. that it is desirable that a room be procured in some central situation in Boston, which may be used as a reading-room and library, as well as for the immediate purposes of the Association. A resolution was also

adopted, advising the Executive Committee to issue a cheap series of tracts of a practical character for gratuitous distribution, and to make such arrangements as they may think best for holding County Conventions. Thanks were voted to Rev. Messrs. A. B. Muzzey, G. E. Ellis, and N. Hall, and H. B. Rogers Esq., who had declined a reelection, for their past services on the Executive Committee. — In the course of these business meetings the propriety of returning an answer to the Address sent to American Unitarians by the Irish Unitarian Christian Association was urged by Rev. Mr. May of Leicester, and a Committee was at one time appointed to prepare such an answer; but afterwards a reconsideration was voted, and it was decided that it did not come within the province of the Association to take any action upon the subject, since the Letter was not addressed nor sent to this body. — Rev. Mr. Palfrey of Barnstable offered an amendment of the Constitution, in the article respecting the officers of the Association, which according to rule lies over to the next annual meeting.

The public meeting of the Association was opened in the Federal Street meetinghouse on Tuesday evening, by prayer from Rev. Dr. Ingersoll. Hon. Samuel Hoar, one of the Vice Presidents, presided. The General Secretary read the annual Report of the Executive Committee, a brief, but comprehensive and satisfactory document. Rev. Mr. Clarke, for the Committee, offered a series of resolutions, referring 1. to the advantages which Unitarians possess for conducting missionary operations; 2. to the importance of the principles of Christian freedom and progress, by which they have been distinguished in past times; 3. to the interest which they ought to take in social reforms and philanthropic movements; 4. to the duty which lies on them to plead for peace, and to the general expression which should be given by Christians to their sense of the horrors and sins of war; 5. to the success of the Meadville Theological School, and the interest which the *Christian Connexion* have manifested towards it; 6. to a more extensive circulation of the works of standard Unitarian writers; 7. to the spread of Liberal views in Canada and Great Britain; 8. to the labors and worth of those who during the last year have entered on a higher life, especially of Ware, Aspland, and Story. Mr. George G. Channing then submitted a statement of his services the last year as Travelling Agent, as especially illustrating the justice of the first resolution. Rev. Frederick W. Holland of Rochester N. Y. offered some remarks founded also on this resolution. John A. Andrew Esq. of Boston spoke particularly upon the second and third resolutions. Rev. William H. Channing dwelt upon the great principles of liberty, holiness, and love, which Unitarians had professed to adopt. George S. Hillard Esq. of Boston spoke with great force of the influence which Christianity ought to exert on public affairs and public men. Mr. Richard Warren of New York said a few words in the name of the Unitarian Association of the State of New York. The lateness of the hour rendered it proper that the meeting should then be closed, though other gentlemen were prepared to offer remarks, and after singing the Doxology, the Association adjourned.

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At the close of the meeting of the Association on Thursday afternoon, many of those who had been present, remained and organized

a meeting for action upon the Irish Address on Slavery, noticed in the previous record, by choosing Rev. Edward B. Hall, Chairman, and John A. Andrew Esq. Secretary. A Committee of ten was then appointed to prepare and send a reply to the Address, and the meeting was dissolved.

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We understand that since the meeting of the Association the Executive Committee have appointed Mr. George G. Channing of Boston Travelling Agent for the present year.

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*The Collation.*—This very pleasant festival was observed on Tuesday, May 26, for the sixth time. The new and spacious hall over the depot of the Maine rail-road had been procured for the purpose, and afforded room for the accommodation of a larger company than had ever before been gathered on the occasion. The invited clergymen with their wives and daughters, and the laymen who had secured tickets, with their female friends, assembled in the attic, (which was so arranged as to serve for drawing-rooms,) whence they proceeded at 2 o'clock to the tables below. These were arranged with taste, and provided with all that was necessary for the refreshment of the body. More than one thousand persons are known to have been seated at the tables, including perhaps an equal number of each sex. Hon. Josiah Quincy had been requested by the Committee of arrangements to preside. The Divine blessing having been asked by Rev. R. C. Waterston, the company gave themselves to the *material* part of the entertainment, while the hum of conversation filling the great hall indicated how agreeable they found their proximity to one another. Thanks having been returned by Rev. S. K. Lothrop, an original hymn was sung by the company, led by a performer on the piano. President Quincy then addressed the company at some length, upon the privileges of the day and the strong characteristics of our faith. Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline followed in a few pleasant remarks. Another original hymn was then sung. After which short addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence R. I., Rev. Mr. Hosmer of Buffalo N. Y., Mr. Richard Warren of New York, Elder Harvey, of the Christian Connexion, from Pennsylvania, and Rev. Mr. Conant of Geneva, Ill. After the singing of a third original hymn, other brief addresses were made by Elder Walter of Springfield, Ohio, also of the Christian Connexion, and Rev. Mr. Cordner of Montreal, Canada. The hour had then arrived for closing the feast, and after singing the Doxology, and passing a vote of thanks to the Committee of arrangements and requesting them to fill the same office the next year, the company dispersed at 6½ o'clock.

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*Ministerial Conference.*—The clerical meeting which for many years was held on the Wednesday morning of anniversary week in the Berry Street Vestry, having for the last two or three years been removed to a larger room, and the name also of the street having been changed, (to Channing Street,) can no longer be described under its former title. As the Ministerial Conference, the brethren met this year in the chapel in Bedford Street, May 27. After prayer by Rev. Mr. Palfrey of Barnstable, the annual Address was delivered by Rev. Edward B. Hall of Providence R. I.,—on the relation of the Gospel and its ministers to individual and social reform. Rev. Dr. Park-



man of Boston was then chosen Moderator of the Conference; Rev. F. D. Huntington of Boston, Scribe; and Rev. Messrs. Ellis of Charlestown, and Young and Clarke of Boston, Standing Committee. Thanks were returned to Mr. Hall for his Address. Resolutions were passed, instructing the Committee to consider by what name the Conference may in future be best known, and to make arrangements to secure a more punctual attendance of the members; inviting ministers of the Christian Connexion who might be present to take seats with the Conference; and authorizing the appointment of a delegate to attend the meeting of the Christian Conference in Wilkesbarre, Penn., next August. The Moderator appointed Rev. Mr. Belkows of New York, and in case of his absence Rev. Mr. Thomas of South Boston. Rev. Mr. Osgood of Providence R. I. offered resolutions respecting the preservation of "documents bearing upon the history of the rise and progress of Liberal Christianity in this country," the exertions that should be made by the members of this Conference "to gather such documents, whether books, pamphlets, sermons, reports or periodicals," and forward them to a common depository, and the appointment of a Committee to take the subject into consideration and receive such documents. The resolutions were adopted, and Dr. Lamson of Dedham, Mr. Osgood of Providence, Mr. Young of Boston, Mr. Ellis of Charlestown, Mr. Burnap of Baltimore and Mr. Hosmer of Buffalo, were appointed said Committee. From the questions presented by the Standing Committee, the Conference selected this for discussion, viz.: What are the peculiar dangers at present, to the character and standing of our body, in relation to the exercise of liberality and freedom. The discussion which followed was conducted with candor and spirit, and was maintained through the morning by several of the brethren, each one of the speakers confining his remarks within the space of ten minutes, according to a vote of the Conference. An adjournment then took place to the afternoon, when resolutions that had been offered in the morning by Rev. Mr. Parker of Boston, expressive of the views which the Conference entertain of the unchristian character of the institution of Slavery, and of the war into which the country has been led through the sinfulness of the nation in this respect, were adopted.

*Sunday School Society.* — The eighteenth anniversary of this institution was celebrated in the Federal Street meetinghouse on Wednesday evening, May 27. The President of the Society, Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, presided. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Corder of Montreal; after which portions of the annual Report were read by the corresponding Secretary. Addresses were then made by William Brigham Esq. and Mr. P. W. Warren of Boston, Rev. Mr. Bulfinch of Nashua, N. H., Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth, Elder Harvey of the Christian Connexion, from Pennsylvania, Rev. Mr. Thompson of Salem, and Rev. Mr. Holland of Rochester, N. Y. The President offered a few remarks at the conclusion of the meeting. The singing of several hymns by children belonging to Sunday schools in this city augmented the interest of the evening.

The Officers of the Society for the present year were elected at the annual meeting April 15, 1846, when Hon. Stephen C. Phillips was chosen *President*; Rev. R. C. Waterston, *Corresponding Secretary*; Mr. S. G. Simpkins, *Recording Secretary*; Mr. L. G. Pray, *Treasurer*.

At a subsequent meeting of the Board of Directors the following persons were appointed "Associate Agents for the present year, to visit and address Sunday schools," viz. Rev. F. T. Gray, Rev. R. C. Waterston, Rev. A. B. Muzzey, Rev. Charles Brooks, Rev. Chandler Robbins, Mr. L. G. Pray, Mr. R. W. Bayley, Mr. Isaiah Bangs, Mr. G. G. Channing, J. A. Andrew, Esq.

*Convention of Congregational Ministers.* — This association of the Congregational ministers of the Commonwealth met as usual, on the Wednesday afternoon of the anniversary week. Rev. Dr. Lamson, the Preacher for the year, presided. Rev. Nehemiah Adams of Boston was reelected Scribe, and Rev. S. K. Lothrop of Boston, Treasurer. The regular business of the Convention, consisting principally of the appropriation of the income of various funds devoted to the relief of widows and children of deceased members, was harmoniously transacted. A report of a Committee appointed the last year was adopted, by which the right of membership was allowed to ministers having the stated charge of a congregation, though they may not have been inducted into that charge by the customary services of Installation. Rev. Ezra S. Gannett of Boston was chosen Second Preacher for the next year, after two ballotings; Rev. Parsons Cooke of Lynn being the First Preacher according to the election of the last year. — On Thursday forenoon the annual Sermon was preached before the Convention, in the Brattle Square meetinghouse, by Rev. Alvan Lamson D. D., of Dedham, from 2 Corinthians xi. 3, — on Congregationalism; after which the usual collection was taken up, amounting to \$167.35.

*Religious Services.* — The public meetings of the week, so far as our denomination is concerned, were closed by services of Christian worship and commemoration in the Federal Street meetinghouse on Thursday evening, May 28. A Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Portsmouth N. H., from 1 Corinthians xi. 26, on the meditations appropriate to the Communion; after which the ordination of the Lord's Supper was administered by Rev. Mr. Livermore of Keene N. H., to a body of communicants filling the floor of the house.

Prayer and Conference Meetings were held this week, — on Tuesday morning in the chapel in Bedford Street, and on Wednesday and Thursday mornings in the Bulfinch Street vestry. Prayers were offered, and addresses made by different brethren of the clergy and laity, while the singing of appropriate hymns by all who could join in this service increased the sacred pleasure of the occasion.

*Ordinations and Installations.* — Rev. JOSEPH HARRINGTON, formerly of Chicago, Ill. was installed as Pastor of the First Unitarian Congregational Society in HARTFORD, Conn., April 23, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury, from John xvii. 19; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Harrington of Albany, N. Y.; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Snow of Brooklyn, Conn., Huntington of Boston, and Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE of Boston was ordained as Pastor of the "Church of the Unity" in WORCESTER, Mass., April 29, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, from Acts ii. 37; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Weiss of Waretown; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Huntington of Boston, and Hall of Providence, R. I.

Rev. MOSES GEORGE THOMAS, formerly of Concord, N H., was installed as Pastor of the Broadway Unitarian Society in South Boston, Mass., May 21, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston, from 1 Timothy i. 15; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Barrett of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Waterston of Boston, and Hall of Dorchester.

Rev. JAMES RICHARDSON of Dedham, a recent graduate at the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained over the Christian Unitarian Society in SOUTHTON, Conn., June 10, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Lamson of Dedham, from John vi. 63; the Ordaining Prayer was made by Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Hale of Worcester; the Address to the People, by Rev. Dr. Dewey of New York; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Harrington of Hartford, Conn., Snow of Brooklyn, Conn., and Farley of Norwich, Conn.

Rev. REUBEN BATES, late of Ashby, was installed over the First Congregational Society in Stow, Mass., June 18, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston, from Colossians i. 28; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Smith of Groton; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Babbidge of Pepperell; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Frost of Concord, Chandler of Shirley, and Gilbert of Harvard.

#### OBITUARY.

Rev. ROBERT ASPLAND died at Hackney (near London) England, December 30, 1845, "in the 64th year of his life, in the 45th year of his ministry, and in the 41st year of his pastorship of the Unitarian church at Hackney." Mr. Aspland had long been a prominent member and minister of the Unitarian body. He was in various ways connected with its interests, and by his long service, his weight of character, and his practical as well as intellectual habits, exercised a great influence. Of late years he had been prevented by repeated illness from taking so active a part as formerly in the concerns of the day. His death, though anticipated, must be severely felt. The funeral services were attended by a large number of persons, and were "conducted by Rev. T. Rees LL. D., the associate in public life, and the close personal friend of Mr. Aspland, for nearly half a century." On the next Sunday, funeral sermons were preached before

the bereaved congregation by Rev. Mr. Madge and Dr. Hutton of London, and the departure of this faithful minister of Christ after a life of such wide usefulness "was affectingly noticed" in many Unitarian pulpits in different parts of England. "His end was remarkably peaceful. Amongst his last words was a solemn declaration of the importance and reality of religion, and of the boundless mercy of God, revealed by Jesus Christ, his beloved Son."

The following notice from the London *Inquirer* not only speaks justly of Mr. Aspland's services in the cause of truth, but mentions some facts of which our readers may not have knowledge.

"With the closing year, the mortal course has terminated of one of the most eminent Ministers of the Unitarian body — the Rev. ROBERT ASPLAND, of Hackney. \* \* \* He had been minister at the Gravel-Pit Meeting for nearly forty years; and his great knowledge both of books and of human nature — his depth of thought, power of reasoning, and nervous eloquence — together with a peculiar capacity for the practical conduct of affairs, gave him an influence with his congregation, and with the denomination to which he belonged, which is not often surpassed. In the year 1806, Mr. Aspland commenced "*The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature*," a Magazine intended to unite liberal theology with attention to literature; and to afford, at the same time, a vehicle for free discussion, and a record of every thing connected with religious and civil liberty, and with the interests of liberal Dissent. In the preface to his first volume, the Editor speaks of his work as "the only periodical publication which is open to *free and impartial theological inquiry and discussion*;" and throughout its whole course, it maintained its character for impartiality in the admission of communications which had any claim to attention, however differing from the editor's own opinions. The *Monthly Repository* contains a great number of very valuable papers, of various kinds, and is a most important book of reference to all who are interested in the religious history of its period. At the close of the year 1827, Mr. Aspland transferred it to the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, by whom it was, after a short time, parted with to Mr. Fox. On its character and objects being entirely changed, under his editorship, Mr. Aspland resolved still to supply what had become a want of the Unitarian body, and in 1834 enlarged a smaller publication, which he had conducted with much usefulness for some previous years, called the *Christian Reformer*, to meet the new circumstances. This he continued to superintend until the last year, when his son, the Rev. R. Brooke Aspland, of Dukinfield, assumed the editorial office.

For his long-continued and efficient services in connection with Unitarian periodical literature, Mr. Aspland had the grateful respect of nearly the whole body. Various publications attest the high intellectual character and the practical value of Mr. Aspland's preaching, and his skill and power as a controversialist. In our various trusts, and in the committee-rooms of our several societies, the loss of our departed friend will be long and deeply felt. He has long occupied a station of eminent importance and usefulness in our churches, and his memory will be held in lasting honor."

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\* \* The preceding obituary has been in type some months, but the narrow limits of our department for intelligence have crowded it out from successive numbers. The same cause obliges us to defer Notices of the meeting of the New York State Unitarian Association, the Inauguration at Cambridge, and much literary intelligence, which we had hoped to give in the present number.

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER  
AND  
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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SEPTEMBER, 1846.

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**ART. I.—RELATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY TO REFORM.**

An Address delivered before the Ministerial Conference in Boston, May 27, 1846. By REV. EDWARD B. HALL.

SUMMONED at a late hour to prepare something for this occasion, I take a subject suggested by the times, but belonging to all time ; — the Relation of the Christian Ministry to individual and social Reform ; or more simply, the Christian Principle of Reform.

There is no special satisfaction in speaking of that which is on every one's lips, has all variety of definitions, and finds a multitude of advocates or opposers equally confident and mutually distrustful ; most distrustful perhaps of any one who takes what is called a moderate course, and what has come to be considered no course at all. But there is a satisfaction in even the humblest endeavor to discern first principles, and keep to them, on subjects where principle is so apt to be thrust aside by passion, and that which is most needed is least in favor — discrimination with decision.

First principles, on the subject before us and all kindred subjects, are to be found in the Gospel of Christ ; — a very simple fact, but one important enough, and enough neglect-

ed, to stand as the chief position. The present inquiry pertains directly to the Gospel, and the ministers of the Gospel; but if it did not, the position would be the same, and essential. A Christian community may be presumed to come under the Christian dispensation. Every Christian age is to be judged by the Christian standard, as to its government, its church, society, and individuals. It had been better for all, if this rule had been applied to all ages since Christ came. It might have prevented some of their own errors and iniquities, and might at least have saved subsequent ages, and the present, from much of the foolish talk about the 'character of the age' being made the rule, and the only rule of judgment. As if a people, whatever their religion or opportunity, may be as bad as they will, and their very badness shall be the rule by which they are to be judged; a kind of reasoning, that has been made to cover a larger multitude of sins, than the largest charity. But whatever may be thought of the past, we are clear as to the present. The nineteenth Christian century is late enough to make it safe to say, that the Christian law is to be supreme; and that any principle of individual or social action which contravenes that law, is self-condemned. How this is to be determined, in any particular case, is a part of the inquiry which I cannot pursue; except to say, that if individual minds and consciences are not competent to decide, there is not, there never has been, and there never can be, a competent tribunal on the earth. The attempt, in State or Church, to find a tribunal which does not consist of individual opinions and involve individual accountability,—the idea of an irresponsible and infallible judgment to be found in some body of men, or some one man, near or remote,—is beyond my power of comprehension, and therefore of discussion. I am content to take the simple fact, that the principles which are to guide us, the first, indisputable, and universal principles of Reform, are to be found in the Gospel of Christ.

From this position, common and indefinite as it may seem, important inferences might be drawn. The following are the most obvious and pertinent. That every reform must stand on the Christian basis; that every reformer is amenable to the Christian law; that every individual is bound to use Christian motives and means, for his own and

others' highest improvement; that every evil is to be adjudged an evil, according to its violation of the Christian law, or its distance from it, and the obstacles it interposes; that for the removal of all evils, we are required to use Christian means, and forbidden to use unchristian means; that we are personally accountable, to some degree, for the prevalence of those evils, to which we have failed to apply Christian truth and influence, and are not accountable at all, where we have applied them faithfully, however ineffectually.

These several points need not be separately considered. They may be comprised within the general statement, that Christianity proposes the reform of all moral evils; and that our responsibility in this work relates to means and efforts, rather than results. These truths I am the more willing to urge here, from the persuasion that they affect our whole position and duty as ministers, without reference to times or special objects.

Christianity proposes reform; reform, in the Scriptural sense of inward regeneration, and in the highest sense of personal, social, universal progress toward perfection. This is so self-evident, that one would feel ashamed to assert and attempt to show it, but for facts which intimate a forgetfulness, if not a denial, of the statement. Few facts stand out more boldly on the front of Christian history, than a disposition to take men and things as they are, on the presumption that they either need not or cannot be changed. There would seem to have grown up with Christianity itself (though before, it was never wanting) a kind of *acquiescence* in the evils of society and character, as well as in the events of life. This, as time has advanced, has been confirmed by the very antiquity of evil, and by that reverence for antiquity, which, with all the truth and usefulness that belong to it, often magnifies one part of the Apostle's injunction, "hold fast that which is good," so as to lose even the thought of the other and the first, "prove all things." It is not extravagant to say, that that in which all Christians of all ages and sects have most agreed, has been an absolute faith in "necessary evils"; an expression, which of itself is as likely to confound as to convey truth. But our quarrel is not with words. The evils usually covered by the phrase in question will be found, I think,

to be nearly all the evils that exist. Sin, in all its Protean forms, with all its direct and indirect effects; the passions and appetites, in every degree of indulgence and violence; human nature, in its total depravity or inordinate selfishness, with every manifestation — wrath, cruelty, revenge, murder, fraud, licentiousness, drunkenness, slavery, and that most, which best expresses, because it creates and comprises all, war; — these all have been specially marked as “necessary.” But these are the very evils, whether as causes or effects, which Christianity proposes to reform, of which it requires the reform, and whose reform it commits to its ministers and disciples as their great work. Have they made it their great work? Admitting all that can be fairly asked, for the high aim of Christians, for the changes which they have actually produced, and for the fact that they are doing the work whenever they preach the Gospel faithfully, there is still room for the question, whether they have commonly proposed to themselves the correction of evils, and the reform of society, as a distinct and commanding object. Nay, more than this; — has there not been, and is there not now, in a large proportion of Christian minds, so far as we can judge, a settled and very easy conviction, that the race and the world are not to be materially changed, in regard to practical and prevalent evils?

In seeking an answer to this question for myself, taking it in its many forms and relations, I have endeavored to separate the true from the false, and be just to each. I know my own tendency, like that of all, to some favorite and exaggerated view. And I come to my brethren, not to inform, but to confer with them, as to this momentous question, which the past and the present are forcing upon our attention, — involving the duty, the practicability, and the best mode of carrying forward that work, for which Christ came and commissioned apostles and preachers — to redeem and regenerate man. In those significant words, “redeem” and “regenerate,” which, all admit, express better than any other words the aim and end of Christianity, I can find no meaning, that does not require me to labor, directly and in faith, for the removal of *all* actual evils. In this conviction, there is nothing visionary. It has no alliance with new organizations, better institutions, social



perfectibility, or man's omnipotence. We need go into no rhapsodies about the intuitions of the soul, or that abused truth, the dignity of human nature. As the child of God, formed in his image, and called to share his perfection, the dignity of man cannot be easily over-stated; and they will never live worthily of themselves or their Maker, who disparage or forget it. But the danger and the depravity of man are to be remembered, as well as the dignity. And it may be, that the whole truth, in this respect, is as well expressed in three lines of the poet Young, as in any entire system, others' or our own.

"Revere thyself — and yet thyself despise.  
His nature no man can o'errate,  
And none can underrate his merit."

Now it is the admission of both these truths, which may best serve to indicate the duty of the Christian minister. All Christians have admitted the one or the other; few, both. The vast majority of Christians have always asserted the depravity of man. But where have they placed that depravity? In his nature, more than in his character; in original more than in actual transgression. Depravity has been theological, far more than practical; general, not specific; universal and total, but not individual, acquired, free, and thus responsible and remediable. Hence the aim has been to correct opinions, rather than conduct; to reform errors, more than practical evils. The powers and anathemas of the Church have been reserved for heresy. Penalty, persecution, excommunication, extermination, have all been visited upon heresy. And in the past and the present, the heretic is in greater danger in most Christian churches, than the knave, the liar, the slanderer, the sensualist, even the open adulterer. True, there is a reason for this, and a professed principle, which we are not to overlook. They who thus think and act, believe that the source of all sin is in the heart, as we know it is. They also believe, that the source of all error is in the heart, and that the error is often the cause of the sin, therefore the greater evil and to be first eradicated. This is the theory. And it is virtually the reasoning of our own brethren, as well as others; at least in regard to the principle of reform. They aver, that admitting, as all do, that Christianity de-

mands reform, it proposes to accomplish it only by the power of truth. It deals with principles. It lays its axe at the root of the tree, and cares not to amuse or expend itself in lopping the branches. Enlighten the mind, purify the heart, and you need not concern yourself with this evil or that crime. Let the soul be regenerated, and then, not before and no otherwise, will sin and evil cease.

Granted. But how is the soul to be regenerated? It is clear enough, that if you make a man Christian, he will be no longer heathen, or vile. Convert the world to Christianity, and reform and reformers will be needless. This has always been known, and always been acted upon. But the world has not been converted. Christianity has been preached at home, and carried abroad. Its ministers and messengers have gone out over the whole earth, and yet little more than a fourth part of its inhabitants are even nominally Christians. And what is still more sad, the small proportion of the really Christian, abroad or at home, seems to cause less anxiety, and to call out less effort, than the extension of the name and the doctrine. The actual sins and known vices remain, and do not seem to be the objects of special regard or reform. The anxiety is still to bring in new converts to the nominal Church, rather than to make the Church itself morally pure, or the community wholly Christian.

It is said by many, that the Church is the divinely constituted agent of reform, the sufficient, and the only proper agent. If it be so, have we not a right to expect some proof of it, to look for results where the trial is fairly made? Are there any results which go to prove, that those churches that rely wholly on their own organization for moral influence, refusing all other associations or aids, refusing indeed to speak or act directly for special reforms, have secured, either for themselves or others, any peculiar share of moral excellence, or even exemption from gross offences? We think not. If indeed it be contended, that the best influences of religion are all unseen, and that outward immorality is no proof of inward corruption, there is little to be said. But if vices are sins, and reform, beginning in the heart, must declare itself in the life, beginning in the Church, must act upon society and the world, it will be difficult to show, that purely ecclesiastical action has

done most, or that preaching against sin in general has been as effectual as preaching against particular sins. The greatest moral reforms that have been witnessed in the Church or society, have been effected by definite action on the definite evil. And it is at least questionable, whether the evils which still afflict humanity, retard Christianity; and make the very name of 'Christian professor' to be a scoff to multitudes in our own and Heathen lands, can ever be abolished, or greatly diminished, without the decided expression and united effort of all Christians for the desired and definite change. Let there be that expression and effort, to any high degree, the change will be seen.

Is this romantic? Take a single illustration, pressed upon us by passing events. The most signal departure from the spirit and letter of the Gospel, confessedly one of the greatest and saddest obstacles to its progress, has been War. From the hour that a midday vision, so unlike that of the Apostle, presented to the imagination or ambition of a Roman Emperor the cross of Christ as an ensign of battle and pledge of earthly conquest, is to be dated that union of the Church with the State, which has brought so sad a verification of the words of our Saviour: — "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." They have fought. Expressly as his servants, in his name, for his truth and glory, they have fought. They have declared it to be right and Christian to fight. Not content with insisting that war is inherent in the fallen nature of man, they have proclaimed it consistent with the new religion of Christ. Nay, they go behind Christ to an earlier lawgiver, and say, as they have often said in so many words and constantly in act, that it is a libel on the God of Moses and Joshua to pronounce war barbarous or unchristian. So far from being regarded as unchristian, it has received its chief countenance and support from the Christian Church, and continues at this hour to have the sanction and employ the energies of the first Christian nations. It is in fact, as before intimated, the first and only element, in which all Christians have cordially united. From the times in which that holy man, of whom Luther said — "If there ever has been a pious monk who feared God, it was St. Bernard" — took for his motto, and the incentive of his followers in battle, the bold declaration, —

"To be slain, is to benefit yourself; to slay, is to benefit Christ," — Christians of all names have merged all differences in the covenant of human blood. Refusing to kneel together at any altar of the Prince of Peace, they have welcomed all to the temple of Mars. Excommunicating each other to-day from the Church on earth, and so far as they may, from the Church in heaven, they will pray and commune together to-morrow, before they march in fraternal bands to the destruction of those whom their Lord commanded them to bless!

This is simple fact, to be used as illustration. Connect with it another fact; that Christians, through this whole period and practice, have been preaching the Gospel, have diffused it among all people at an expenditure and sacrifice only less than those of war, have made its acceptance and observance essential, and declared it to be the power that can and will regenerate the earth, changing even the wolf to the lamb, and the sword to the ploughshare. Let us suppose that this same preaching and evangelizing had been accompanied by a different commentary. Without imagining any extraordinary virtue, we may suppose that Christians were always opposed to war; that, as did most in the first ages, they had continued to this time to say mildly, but immovably, 'We cannot fight.' Would this have been useless? Would the Christian or the Heathen world have presented the same aspect that they now wear, in regard to any common evils or great interests? Every one believes the contrary. We know, that according to the very principles of human nature, and through the mighty power of God in Christ, such a protest, calmly and consistently sustained, would have wrought a reform, whose power and blessing every cause and every man would have shared. And so will it be, if Christians will thus speak and act *now*. Let the Church, or any large branch of it, let one Christian nation, take this position, it will be felt throughout the world. Let ministers, with or without combination, speak and act as consistent Christians in all things, it will be seen whether their power or their present deficiency has been much overrated. If a church believes that it is itself the only proper or needed peace-society, well; only let it show itself to be a peace-society. If a bishop, a pastor, or a brother, feels that he cannot join

any association, and cannot willingly preach or willingly hear on the Sabbath of such worldly and vexed matters as war, intemperance, slavery, and licentiousness, well; only let him, in his own way, with perfect freedom, undisturbed and unsuspected, speak audibly and intelligibly, for peace, temperance, liberty, and purity. 'Show yourself,' respectfully would I say to every one, as I would have every one freely say to me, 'show yourself to be true to your own principles, and to your Master's commission. Let your light shine. Let it be seen where and what you are. This, the Church and the world, especially at this day, have a right to ask. Let it be known that you live. Let it be believed that you are a Christian. Let no man ask — is he for or against Christian reform. Let no large, nor the littlest soul have reason to doubt, whether you care for other souls. Suffer not the sensualist, the defrauder, the corrupter, the revengeful and warlike, to extol your liberality, and quote you as no opposer. Speak the truth; speak it in love, but the truth, and the whole truth, personal, practical, spiritual. Speak as the servant of God, against all that God has forbidden, for all that he commands or asks. Speak as the minister of Christ, gently but fearlessly, and with authority, in behalf of that which Christ's pure and peaceful religion, his regenerating and saving faith, would accomplish.'

Greatly shall I be misapprehended and wronged, if in using this language, or any other, I am supposed to be actuated by that spirit of censoriousness, which has become so common that one can hardly speak freely without exciting the suspicion. We may none of us escape the imputation, may we all be kept from the weakness and wickedness of the temper, which is most intolerant when it calls most fiercely for charity and liberty, and in its mode of exercising love betrays a disposition akin to that which engenders hate and war. Our accountableness for that which we say and do, or refuse to say and do, is not to any man, however independent, nor to any number, however associated. There is an accountableness to God, which is quite enough for any one to bear. Of this I would say something, as an important point, and the principal one that I further touch. I view it in its single relation to reform, and the duty of the minister as a reformer.

It will be seen that I use the word, reform, not technically but broadly, as standing for all moral and religious improvement. It is therefore a large and solemn matter, to attempt to measure the accountableness of ministers of the Gospel, in this relation. It pertains to their very mission. It covers their whole work. And one is left to wonder beyond measure, how any human being can presume to judge of the degree of this accountableness for another. Yet this is done, whenever it is assumed that we *ought* to devote ourselves to this or that work, apart from our stated ministrations, and are guilty and responsible if we do not. It is necessary to say this, in order to put in its true light, and a strong light, our actual relation to those movements, which are commonly understood by the term 'reforms;' a term in which much is to be included, pertaining to ignorance, pauperism and crime, as well as more glaring evils. I hold this relation to be a very important one, but I hold that nothing connected with it is more important, than our duty as well as liberty to judge of it for ourselves, individually, and irresponsibly as regards all but God. This is true of our whole duty, as ministers and men. But it is particularly true of our duty there, where it has been particularly or impliedly denied. There has been, beyond dispute, a new and singular disposition evinced of late, to dictate to ministers their course and their duty, in reference to certain causes and associations. About this and against it, enough perhaps has been said in various ways. I am not inclined to magnify its importance, and am by no means willing that it should divert us, as it certainly does not exempt us, from the obligation to look at these alleged duties earnestly, as well as independently. Yet I am not willing to enter upon the question of duty at all, without a sober protest against all dictation and imputation whatever. There are duties which a Christian community, and those portions of it particularly with which we are professionally connected, have a right to expect of us as pastors and preachers. But the duties to which I now refer are not of this class. No community, no society, not our own churches, have any right to tell us what we shall do or not do, say or not say, in reference to the social and political questions which agitate the public mind. Our acting and our mode of acting, our speech and our silence,

are to be as perfectly free, as those of other men ; which is all we ask. There is a sense in which all men are bound to exert an influence in favor of truth and right. But that self-constituted authority, which undertakes to determine for others what truth and right are, and holds ministers in special accountable to itself for their decision and action, often branding them with epithets and imputations offensive alike to human and divine law, is a usurpation as bold, and a tyranny as intolerable, as any that Church or nation or autocrat ever exercised.

But this after all, and at the worst, is a small matter compared with duty. We demean ourselves when we allow folly to be an excuse for apathy. He who does nothing for temperance, because some of its advocates have been intemperate and injurious, or says nothing about slavery, except that many of its opposers are wild and intolerant, manifests in another form the narrowness and error which he condemns. Though you could prove that all abolitionists are madmen, and all non-resistants fools, and total abstinence suicide and murder, it would not be the only truth, nor the greatest truth, in regard to slavery, war, and drunkenness. I suppose our whole duty and responsibility in this province may be expressed by some such affirmation as we made in the beginning, applicable to ministers in common with all ; namely, for the removal of all moral evils, we are required to use Christian means, and forbidden to use any other ; being personally accountable, to some degree, for the prevalence of those evils, to which we have failed to apply Christian truth and influence, and not accountable at all, where we have applied them faithfully, however ineffectually.

That Christianity not only proposes the removal of moral evils, but that it is able to effect it, and will effect it some time or other, is a common belief. If it be our belief, or if we believe in any social and spiritual progress, it is a primary question — how is that progress ever to be made ? Are we ever to possess any other means or other powers of accomplishing the great ends of Christianity, than those now possessed ? If not, there is a palpable absurdity in the way in which Christians talk of future advancement and final completeness, while they deny the possibility of removing present obstacles by any use of the highest, even

Christian influences. What do we mean, when we pray that the world may be converted to truth and holiness, in 'God's own time?' Do we suppose that He will act differently, or that men will act differently? Is not this God's own time, and will he give any other kind of time, or other kind of men and means? Is the mere passage of time, or the peopling and crowding of the earth, to renovate it? As we expect that the passage of the body through corruption, will work the spirit's incorruption. Our very assertion, that there is to be no further revelation, no higher or better Christ, and our indignant reproof of the opposite assertion, throw upon us a tremendous responsibility, and demand of us, at the least, that we put to full proof our present means, and give our religion free course. Does any man doubt, that this religion can remove the mighty obstacles that now impede it? Does any man believe, that it ever will remove them, except through human agency and fidelity, such as we can use as well as any future generation? There cannot be a question, that if Christian ministers alone, all of them, would put full faith, not merely in the future and possible, but in the present and actual power of their religion, would show first that this religion is having its legitimate effect on their own characters, and then apply it, meekly and charitably, but strictly and thoroughly, to all the vices, sins and evils of society, the effect would be as distinct as it would be sure. Now it is not distinct. The Gospel is preached, but the vices remain. Sin in the aggregate is sufficiently exposed, but it laughs and riots on. There is no change bearing any proportion to that which the Gospel promised, and which we imply as possible in every prayer we utter. The grossest iniquities live in the bosom of the Church, and stalk abroad in the most Christian communities. We preach on year after year, ten, twenty, forty years, and remain morally just where we were at the beginning, if indeed we have not lost. Tell me, brethren, why it is so. I may be utterly ignorant of the cause, and may talk foolishly about the cure, — but I do know the fact, and I feel it in my inmost soul. I feel that there is somewhere a frightful accountableness. We are immeasurably distant from the Christian standard. Not prating at all about degeneracy, nor raising the faintest idea of perfection, we say there



are positive violations of the Christian law, open outrages upon justice and humanity, enormities as opposed to Christ's precepts and temper as night to noon, yet so incorporated with the very life of society, so interwoven with the customs, laws, and institutions of the land, that you are forbidden to touch them, lest you bring down the whole fabric in ruins. Yet more, it is gravely said, you need not touch them. The Gospel does not require it. You may declare the whole counsel of God, but need not disturb the complacency of one of these sins or sinners. And so the ministry goes on, the ministry of reconciliation, the mighty array of apostles, evangelists, pastors and teachers, employed in the sublime and safe work of splitting words, defending doctrines, wrangling for forms, creating or opposing organizations, denouncing and devouring one another, and leaving unmoved, declaring immoveable, those moral evils, which make all else seem a pretence and a mockery.

But what would you have, it is asked. Do you demand that we say more of these evils specifically, preach about them often and by name, join those who combine against them, and mourn aloud over the awfulness and accountableness? No, I do not demand this. But I earnestly ask, that all who choose to do this, as well as all who choose not to do it, may be left free even from suspicion of unworthy motives. The mode of action, or the measure of accountableness, I decide for no one, and no one may decide for me. That of which I feel the want in myself, and believe to be the general and radical want, is first a more earnest conviction, not only of the existence, but of the magnitude and turpitude of these moral evils, and then a religious, resolute purpose of directing to them the whole power of Christian truth and requisition, each in his own way, but a way unequivocal and manly. The constant and evasive question, whether these things really belong to the Gospel, or to the work of the minister, should be settled and silenced by the plain consideration, were there no other, that they stand directly in the way of the Gospel, and mock its purpose and its preacher. If a man feel this, he will not ask, and need not be told, what he is to do. There have been men among us, who were never declaimers nor denouncers, partisans nor fanatics, but whose opinions on

every question of right and humanity were clear as the day, and so felt that every one has said — ‘Were there many like these, Christianity would speedily triumph.’ And one characteristic of these men has been their love of their calling, a fidelity to their sacred work, which of itself gave them power for every other. Instead of turning any away from the Gospel and the ministry, the evils and duty of which we speak should hold them the faster to this ministry, and make them cling to the Gospel as the only hope of salvation.

When the good Leighton was once reproved for not preaching up the times, he replied — “If all of you preach up the times, you may surely allow one poor brother to preach up Christ Jesus and eternity.” Yet why need these be separated, as if opposed? We are to preach Christ Jesus, by preaching as he preached, — for the times, in all their defects, iniquities, and demands, — for the times present and to come, in view of a perfect religion, and eternal issues. This is a part of our accountableness, and at this moment a very serious part. We are accountable for our use of this divine energy and this high calling at all times, but most when their influence is most needed. We are accountable, if we give any just cause for the assaults made on the ministry. We are accountable, if we either keep to this ministry so formally and narrowly that we are never felt beyond it, scarcely within it, or leave it so often and far as to make it forgotten or lamented that we have any connection with it. And may I add, that we are accountable, if we suffer our liberal theology and singular charity to render us now indifferent, and now intolerant, of opinion; while all the time we forget or boldly deny those sources of sin and powers of selfishness in the human heart, which have caused all the darkness and desolation of earth. We hold not the first principle of Christian reform, until we feel the absolute necessity of this reform, and discern the seat of the evil, the place for the radical change. Say it who will, and as they may, — is it not true, that as a class of believers, preachers, and actors, we make too little of human depravity? That we believe it is not original or total, but voluntary and individual, is the very reason why we should deal with it closely and anxiously. If it have no root and no apology in our nature, it is verily a

gigantic and frightful iniquity. Why is it, that the evils of which we have spoken are so universal, and, as many say, incurable? Why has it been necessary from the beginning, for God, and Christ, and man, to employ such vast ministrations and mighty agencies, merely to restrain men from evil—and so greatly in vain? Let any one go back six thousand years, and stand with the first man in his fair heritage, or come down four thousand years, and stand on the mount of Beatitudes, knowing all that the world had already learned, and hearing all that Christ then promised,—would he be able to believe, that at this distance of time not only passions but opinions would predominate, through the best portions of Christendom, in favor of vast *systems* of iniquity, such as slavery and war, while the lusts that create these, create all other forms of social and political corruption, to a degree that causes wise and calm men to mourn and despair? That Christians can despair, is melancholy enough. That such partial views are taken of Christianity and destiny; that men remain for centuries unconscious or indifferent to monstrous evils, and when they awake to the reality of one, pursue it to the forgetfulness of all others; that in this advanced age, a man may be imprisoned and slain for speaking his own thoughts, or attempting to do to others as he would they should do to him; that scarcely one of Christ's moral laws can be strictly applied to individuals and society, without the charge of interference or extravagance;—all this, and much more of equally common fact, indicate a nature or tendency for which 'frailty' seems a very inadequate term, and 'depravity' none too strong.

Brethren, if there be any truth or justice in what I have offered, let me ask, if right views and impulses are not to come chiefly from Christian ministers? The subject is linked in with our profession in every way, and commends itself especially to our denomination. I love the profession, I love the denomination. Let me not exaggerate or forget the accountableness of either. Our views of theology and humanity, our hope for society and the soul, connect us (and commit us, if any views can,) with the distinct work of Christian reform. Our duty, of course, has conditions and limitations. Of some of these I purposed to speak. But beside the want of time, it is too plain to be more than

stated, that accountableness pertains to means and efforts, not to results; that the same law which binds us to use all Christian means, forbids us to use unchristian means, or to spend ourselves in regrets and reproaches, when we have done right in a right temper. It is a mistake which the reformer has always made, that he is to change everything, and finish the world's work. Yet this is a harmless vanity, compared with the egregious and dangerous absurdity, that reformers are not accountable for consequences; that to be a martyr, is a glory worth every cost; that if any will fight against God, we may fight against *them*, and pursue them at least with all opprobrious epithets and injurious treatment. It is well to consider, that the wicked as well as the good are in the hands of God, and that the good are accountable for the means they use even in reforming the wicked. The faith that is to remove mountains, must be calm and patient, strong in hope, and greatest in charity. Are there any of whom such faith is to be expected, if not of the disciples of Christ, and ministers of his Gospel? They are not insignificant. They are never powerless, except when they stretch or trifle with their power. In numbers alone, taking all names and climes, they are a great army. And could they move in one phalanx, clad all in the armor of God, who doubts that that which Jesus said of the first whom he sent out, would be again and more widely witnessed, "I beheld Satan fall, as lightning, from heaven."

Our hope is in Christ and the Church. Let us show our love for both, by our reliance on them alone. Let us show that we are Christian ministers, by single and hearty devotion to the Christian ministry. Let us stand up and move on, each in his own place and way, a meek yet mighty reformer, by treasuring and being faithful to the great truth, that Christianity proposes the removal of all evils, but regards as the first of reforms, and the highest good in the universe, a spirit born anew and born of God. And this reform it would accomplish by the instrumentality of the Church. As a brother has well said, in a discourse on "Spiritual Renewal," — "The Church is the greatest institution on earth, and if it be faithful to its province, it is the benigneest and most mighty for good things to mankind." Earnestly then must we ask — is the Church

faithful? This has been often asked foolishly, and answered falsely. But let all that pass, and then let the question come back, and abide with us,—is the Church faithful? Are we, its ministers, faithful even to its great idea of the soul's and the world's renewal? If we were, would that renewal be a dream, or be left as only the possible work of future ages? One thing is sure. No future age will have a heavier accountableness to bear, than this; and no denomination, than ours. This I believe, with a seriousness that makes me tremble. With our intelligence, with our Protestant independence, with our proclamation, if not possession, of perfect freedom and perfect charity, with a real individualism that offers the best of all association and cōoperation, with the thrilling ties that bind us to the holy dead, and to the good of every name on earth and in heaven,—if we leave no mark on our country and age, or fail to raise the tone of morals and aim of Christians, in the Church, the state, and society, it may be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment, than for us.

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#### ART. II.—THE CAUSE OF PEACE.\*

WE have wished for some time to take notice of the progress which Peace principles are unquestionably making in this and in foreign lands. It is pleasant, when martial

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\* 1. *Memoir of Thomas Thrush Esq., formerly an Officer of rank in the Royal Navy, who resigned his commission on the ground of the Unreasonableness of War.* By REV. C. WELLBELOVED. London: Longman, Brown & Co. 1845. 8vo. pp. 116.

2. *Plea for Peace. A Discourse delivered on Fast Day, April 2, 1846.* By DANIEL SHARP, Pastor of the Charles Street Church. Boston: Wm. D. Ticknor & Co. 8vo. pp. 24.

3. *A Sermon on War, preached at the Melodeon, on Sunday, June 7, 1846.* By THEODORE PARKER, Minister of the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Church in Boston. Boston: Little & Brown. 1846. 8vo. pp. 43.

4. *An Oration delivered before the Authorities of the City of Boston, in the Tremont Temple, July 4, 1846.* By FLETCHER WEBSTER. Boston: J. H. Eastburn. 1846. 8vo. pp. 33.

5. *The Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood.* ELIHU BURRITT, Editor and Proprietor. Worcester, Mass. Nos. 1—6; January—June, 1846. 8vo. pp. 24, each No.

sounds are heard in our streets and descriptions of battles fill the columns of our newspapers, to turn to the proofs which the time still furnishes of the spread of just opinions and pacific sentiments in the community. We believe that a very great advance has been made towards a proper estimation of war by Christian nations within the last few years, and circumstances which might at first seem to contradict such a belief, afford, we think, evidence on which it may rest.

Among the indications of a change in the public mind on this subject, the first place is due to the frequent contributions which the press is making to what may be called the pacific literature of the times. Not only have discourses and addresses, advocating very different views from those which were almost universally accepted in the last generation, become common, but — what is a more significant fact — the secular as well as the religious journals of the day freely insert articles, the design of which is to expose the impolicy and unchristian character of war. Few of our readers probably are aware of the amount of sound instruction which is communicated in this way. Besides this means of influence, the distribution of tracts and the circulation of books prepared by the friends of peace, are forming a public opinion which is already felt in its action on both men and measures.

Dr. Sharp's Discourse and Mr. Webster's Oration, in different ways, illustrate this growth of public sentiment. The former is the clear and calm plea of a Christian "advocate for peace," and as such was strictly appropriate to the place from which it was delivered — a Christian pulpit. Yet the pulpit has not always been occupied by those who spoke in this strain; and it is certainly among the favorable signs of the time, that so many preachers of the Gospel have of late given expression to that abhorrence of war, which it might have been thought a study of the life and teaching of Jesus must inspire in every breast. Its uselessness, its wastefulness, its inhumanity, and its immoral influences are described by Dr. Sharp, who closes his Discourse with a direct application to the circumstances in which our country was placed in relation to Great Britain at the time when it was written. Mr. Webster's Oration is, in large part, a defence of military insti-

tutions, evidently called forth by what he must consider the spread of dangerous opinions. It is therefore a sign of the very tendency which he is anxious to arrest, for men do not take the trouble to defend usages the propriety of which is not doubted. The Oration is respectable as a literary performance, and is free from that vicious declamation which once distinguished Fourth of July Addresses. As an argument in justification of war, (or extenuation, he might perhaps prefer we should say,) it is a rather remarkable production. If we could think Mr. Webster capable of such a mischievous prank as attempting to *quiz* "the Authorities of the city of Boston," we should easily understand the meaning of such a passage as this:—"Suppose it impossible for wars to occur, where were nationality, where patriotism, where love of home and friends?" How must the Mayor and Aldermen of Boston have shuddered at the possibility of such peaceful times that there would be no home nor friends for them to love? Unless they saw through the orator's humor, "the authorities" must have had little stomach for their dinner that day. Then too the quiet satire of the question:—"Where would be statesmanship, where had been all the illustrious legislators of former times, and of the present day, had the world been wrapped in immutable peace?" Sad thought for those who look into the future, that an age of the world may come, when peace, mother of barbarism, shall have established a universal reign! Mr. Webster, with some slight inconsistency, "believes and hopes" that wars will one day cease, when "men obey the injunctions of Christ," and most of his Oration was evidently written in a serious and honest spirit, though we entirely dissent from the conclusion he wishes to establish.

Mr. Parker's Sermon may also be taken as a proof of that advance in public sentiment, of which we have spoken. Such an emphatic condemnation of all war would have been regarded a very few years ago with surprise, if not with suspicion of the preacher's sanity. Now no one is surprised, and many agree with the preacher. As a bold and forcible statement of the evils of war, it is entitled to perusal and commendation. Mr. Parker shows by strong language and yet stronger facts, that war causes an immense waste of property, a terrible waste of life, and a fearful

corruption of morals. By a rhetorical supposition he brings the strife of arms into our own neighborhood, and then turns the feelings which his graphic power has awakened against the war which the United States are at this moment waging with Mexico. We cannot however admire the style in which the Sermon is written. As a discourse for the pulpit, it lacks the dignity which ought not to be sacrificed to coarser qualities of style, and discovers that continual aim at effect, which good taste must pronounce a fault. Mr. Parker's later productions are seriously marred by this tendency, which, if not checked, will soon destroy his claim to be considered one of our good writers. He betrays too on almost every occasion, as in this sermon, a petulant anxiety to disparage the Old Testament, which is discreditable to him as a scholar and a believer, neither of which characters, we presume, he wishes to be considered as having forfeited.

The Memoir of the late Mr. Thrush, prepared by his friend, the venerable Mr. Wellbeloved, is a valuable addition to our libraries,—more brief than we should have been glad to receive under this title, but long enough to make the reader acquainted with the chief incidents in the life, as well as the prominent traits in the character, of a most excellent man. Mr. Thrush was one of those few, who act out their convictions at whatever cost of worldly ease,—the true martyrs of principle. They are nobler men than the warriors or rulers whose names shine through the ages, and their lives are better worth studying. They shame, and they encourage us; for they remind us of our own cowardly virtue, and they show us what calm energy our nature can exhibit amidst circumstances of trial confronted for conscience' sake. Mr. Thrush was remarkable for firmness of character. He acted deliberately, but resolutely, forming his opinions with care, and then maintaining them with a *practical* steadfastness worthy of all admiration. These traits were early exhibited. His mother, a sensible and estimable woman, was left a widow, with the care of seven children, when Thomas, the second son, was only nine years old. His inclinations when a youth led him to desire a seafaring life, but the wishes of his mother controlled him, and he prepared himself for the mercantile profession. His love of the sea, however, was too strong



to be supplanted by a fondness for other pursuits, and after giving a fair trial to the employment which he had adopted, he addressed a letter to his mother in which, with the utmost filial respect, he entreated her to consent to a change in his mode of life. It was a letter which no mother could resist; and at the age of twenty-one he made his first voyage, in a small coasting vessel. After other trading voyages, interrupted by considerable intervals of home life, during which he faithfully pursued those studies which would qualify him to enter the naval service, he obtained the appointment of master's mate on board a sloop of war destined for the East Indies. He was now in the employment which he had long coveted, and the attention which he gave to its duties, with the honorable deportment which he maintained, recommended him for promotion. He gradually rose till he reached the rank of Post Captain, and was entrusted with various services in which he displayed good judgment and humane feeling. Mr. Well-beloved observes of this part of his life: —

“It is remarkable, that though the term of Mr. Thrush's service in the navy extended over a period of more than twenty years, during the greater part of which the nation was in a state of war, he was never engaged in any distinguished action with the enemy, nor did he ever obtain more than a trifling share of prize-money. This was a cause of regret to many of his friends, if not to himself; but it proved a source of consolation to him afterwards, when he calmly reviewed his life in the light of Christian truth, that he had not participated in the guilt of shedding human blood, or been enriched by the spoils of war.” — pp. 30, 31.

Mr. Thrush was married, in 1804, to one who shared with him the various experience of nearly forty years. The almost romantic attachment which marked their union, is but partially revealed in the letters from which extracts are given in this volume. Not long after his marriage he purchased a house near the residence of his wife's family in Yorkshire, and retired from active service, partly that he might recover from the effects of severe illness incurred on the West India station. In “the quiet retreat of Sutton” he found an opportunity, on which he gladly seized, of examining carefully and candidly the Scriptural evidence for the doctrines of the Established Church; in

which he had been educated, but doubts concerning which had been awakened in his mind many years before by the circumstance of Rev. Mr. Lindsey's resignation of his living. The result was a full conviction, that the doctrine of the Trinity had no support in Scripture. He continued to worship in the parish church, till the discrepancy between its offices and the teachings of Christ became so painful to him, that, finding no other place of worship at which he could attend with satisfaction, "he felt himself compelled to withdraw from communion with every professed Christian society, and to confine his devotions to his own family and to his closet." This step exposed him to unjust remark, and caused him to appear before the public as a writer, in a "Letter" which he addressed to the inhabitants of the parish in which he resided. The views which he presented in this Letter, he afterwards enlarged and enforced in other pamphlets. But the most important consequence of that earnest study of the Bible to which he now devoted himself was a conviction, that war was in direct opposition to the spirit and purpose of Christianity. From this conclusion he was soon led, by that singleness of mind which distinguished him, to perceive that the profession of arms was one which he was bound, as a Christian, to relinquish. To take such a step would, however, not only mark an entire change in the opinions which he had long honestly held, but would separate him from friends, subject him to ridicule, deprive him of a considerable part of his means of support, and — what he regarded with far more anxiety — compel his wife to endure many privations, and, to use his own language, "doom her to whom he was indebted for so much happiness, to suffer from the effects of what many would no doubt call his extreme folly." He therefore revolved the subject long, before he decided on the course which he should adopt; and then communicated his purpose to Mrs. Thrush, (who, though not altogether unacquainted with his sentiments respecting war, neither participated in them, nor had any knowledge of his secret resolutions,) in a letter written on his sixtieth birthday, and on the eighteenth anniversary of his marriage. This letter, which begins with the warmest expressions of gratitude to the good Providence that had blessed them, and closes with the language of a beautiful religious trust and hope,

contains a full exhibition of his views on the subject which then, and ever afterwards, most interested his mind, and on the course which duty seemed to require him to take. We should be glad to copy the whole, for such letters are not often seen, nor often written, but we have room for only one extract, which none of our readers, we believe, will think too long.

"From the solemnity with which I introduce this letter, you will be led to expect that I have something to communicate of a serious and important nature: it is indeed highly so, both as it regards our present state of existence, and that which will never have an end. That I may occasion you no longer suspense or painful apprehension, I shall without further preface inform you, that after thinking intensely on the subject for the greater part of the year that is just concluded, I have come to the resolution, (should I see no just cause to change my sentiments, and should it please the almighty Disposer of events to continue me so long in this world,) this very day three years hence, to resign my commission in the naval service of my country—that commission which has cost me so many years of painful watching, labor, and exertion, to acquire, and on which for so many years of my life I have placed so high a value, and, what must ever weigh with me, which you, my dearest love, have not held in a lower degree of estimation.

"Having now, as I hope, removed from your mind the apprehensions that the former part of my letter was calculated to excite, by informing you that the evil, if such you contemplate it, is not to take place till a period to which it is even presumptuous to look forward, I proceed to state to you my reasons for a step so extraordinary, and as I believe so perfectly novel; for as far as my information goes, no human being has ever taken the step which I am meditating to take. It behoves me therefore well to weigh the consequences both to myself, to you my better self, and to society at large: for I should deem myself wanting in duty to all, were I, on any principle however plausible, to act with precipitation in a matter involving so many grave and weighty points for my serious consideration. If I find any principle of pride or vain glory lurking in my mind, any desire of worldly fame, or even an undue desire to give weight to my peculiar religious opinions; if after diligently studying the scriptures of truth, and minutely examining into the most secret recesses of my heart, I find that I cannot with godly sincerity make this peace-offering on the altar of God,—be assured that it shall not be made at all. If I cannot resign my professional emoluments and honors, if I must so call them, in a frame of mind and on principles to afford me satisfaction at the awful

moment of my dissolution, be assured that I shall retain them to the last. It is to that period, my dearest love, that we ought constantly to look, not with fear or despondency, but with hope and cheerfulness; towards it we are on our way with a rapid pace, though the time before us not being seen, may appear long to us. Among events that are future to us in this stage of our existence, this is the only one we can reckon upon with certainty, and wisdom tells us, if we will but listen to her admonitions, that as it is our first duty, so it is our highest interest, to keep our lamp constantly trimmed, and to be constantly prepared to meet our future judge. By daily meditating on death we may, I think, not only disarm it of its terrors, but bring ourselves to regard it, as in truth it is, the finishing act of God's mercy to bring us to our destined haven; and this without at all destroying that cheerfulness of mind which may be considered as the best expression of our gratitude to the Giver of all good.

"From many expressions that have of late escaped me both in conversation and in writing, the surprise of the beloved wife of my bosom at the information I have just communicated will be greatly diminished, and you will have anticipated already almost all the reasons I can assign for a step so novel and unprecedented, a step which, should our lives be extended to extreme old age, will deprive us for many years of a large portion of those comforts and conveniences which long habit has brought us to consider as the necessities of life, and, what is I believe of equal consequence to us both, of our ability to be useful and serviceable to others.

"The reasons I have to advance for this extraordinary step are, of course, of a religious nature, and I am sure that you, my love, whose opinion on this occasion is of more consequence to me than that of the whole world, will give me credit for their sincerity. It has of late seemed wonderful to me that any human being, believing in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, can think himself justified in pursuing war *as a trade*. You may, I know, say, that as far as regards me the deed is done, and cannot be undone; that I am now only receiving a reward for my past services, and the labors of the best part of my life; and that had I, with equal diligence and ability followed any other profession, I should probably have been more wealthy than I now am. These considerations may satisfy thousands, many of them, no doubt, pious and good men, and therefore ought to satisfy me. The question is, will such a plea be received at the bar of Christ, as reconcilable to his plain and express commands, and is it not, in fact, following a multitude to do evil? If it be a breach of God's holy law to make *war a trade*, and at the command of one or more of our fellow-creatures to *murder* (for such,

alas! it is,) a number of human beings, not to say fellow-Christians; if this, my beloved wife, is a crime in the eyes of the great Parent of all, surely they cannot be innocent who, after having dedicated the best part of their lives to a trade so little consistent with Christian principles, instead of repenting in dust and ashes for having so misapplied their time, are enjoying the fruits of their criminality, and the wages of their disobedience to one of the first of God's commandments — 'Thou shalt do no murder.'

"Regarding my half-pay in this point of view, you may say it is not my duty to retain it a day or an hour longer. This is, indeed, a subject on which my mind has, at times, been a good deal distracted. It would be unwise in me to persevere in a conduct which I think at variance with my religion; it would be folly in me, without the most mature consideration, to do that which I might afterwards repent of, particularly as I should do it in opposition to the conduct of wise and good men in all ages. After weighing the various arguments both for and against the measure, I have come to the determination (unless you can oppose any just and solid reasons against it, or unless such reasons should suggest themselves to my mind,) in three years from this very day to resign that commission which it cost me so many years to obtain. From the present state of my mind, I do not think that this delay will make any alteration in my sentiments, and the taking this time for deliberation will give more solemnity to the act. If I do resign my commission, I certainly shall think it incumbent upon me to give it every publicity. I shall think it my duty (if I may be so presumptuous as to apply the expression to myself) 'to let my light shine before men.' If, therefore, my life should be so long spared, I propose to employ my pen in advocating the cause of peace, or rather that of injured humanity. Societies have of late been established in different countries, for the benevolent purpose of putting a stop to the horrid and inhuman practice of war: if what I contemplate doing shall forward the views of those who are thus honorably employed, I shall think that I have not lived in vain; nay, that I am forwarding the views of my Lord and Master, and performing an act that will be acceptable to him, by promoting 'peace on earth.' "—pp. 51—55.

The close of the period which Mr. Thrush had chosen for putting his determination to the test, not only found him confirmed in his purpose, but brought to his support the entire sympathy and cooperation of his wife. He accordingly resigned his commission as an officer of the royal navy, in a "Letter addressed to the King," which many of our readers will remember among the publications that

attracted some notice twenty years ago. It was not without reason that he afterwards said, "I believe it required more courage to write that letter than to fight a battle." He took his ground against the force of surrounding opinion, the inveteracy of popular prejudice, the counsel and the sneer of those with whom he had been connected in relations of friendship, and the scornful amazement of all the members of a profession to which he had himself once felt a proud attachment. But he never regretted the step, nor shrunk from its consequences; and although his solitary example produced no perceptible change in the public sentiment on the subject of war, he had the satisfaction of obeying his own sense of right, and he recorded his reverence for the Gospel of peace in facts of imperishable meaning.

From this time Mr. Thrush led a quiet and secluded life, forsaken indeed by many who had once treated him with high regard, but sustained by the consciousness of rectitude, and cheered by the esteem of those friends whom "his upright, fearless, and disinterested conduct" had secured. He occupied himself very much in writing on the subjects which chiefly interested his mind, and at different times published such defences of the views which he had adopted, both on questions of controversial theology and of practical Christianity, as the circumstances in which he was placed seemed to him to require. Some of these tracts he issued from a press of his own construction, which he worked with his own hands, exhibiting in his old age an inventive faculty and a patient industry which may alike claim our admiration. His habits were those of a cheerful, but thoughtful Christian, who knew the value of time, yet was most mindful of eternity. Though a sufferer from chronic rheumatism, complaint was a stranger to his lips, while feelings of gratitude and trust filled his heart. Never idle,\* and

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\* It is too remarkable a proof of Mr. Thrush's diligence to be omitted, as well as an evidence of the high purpose which always animated him, that on the day after he entered his sixtieth year he began the study of Greek. In a journal which he then kept, he remarks:—"By dedicating about half an hour morning and evening to this study, and taking up a book occasionally during the day, I have already made such progress as to give me hope that by persevering as I have begun, I may in about a year be able to read the New Testament in that language. This is indeed the principal end I have in view, in commencing so arduous a study at so advanced a period of life."

always anxious to draw attention to the principles for which he had sacrificed so much, he published, in his eighty-first year, his final plea in behalf of those principles, under the title of "Last Thoughts of a Naval Officer on the Unlawfulness of War." "With this publication," says Mr. Wellbeloved, "the labors of this excellent man in the service of what, after much careful and impartial inquiry, he deemed important truth, terminated." The short remainder of his days, he spent in tranquil expectation of the close. "'Thou will keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee.' Never," says his biographer, "was this declaration of the prophet more beautifully exemplified than in the last year of the life of the venerable subject of this memoir." During the protracted illness of the wife whom he so dearly loved, "he soothed and enlivened her by his unremitting attentions and cheerful conversation." Mrs. Thrush recovered only to take her place beside his sick bed. An injury which he received from a fall hastened his death. We cannot deny ourselves the privilege of quoting Mr. Wellbeloved's words.

"From that time his strength gradually failed, but the energy of his mind was unimpaired, and his patience and resignation became more perfect as his sufferings increased. Though he was evidently at times in great pain, he uttered no complaint; and when he saw the anxiety and distress of his beloved wife, he would say, 'that he was in the state in which it had pleased God to place him, and that after all the mercies he had received, it was his duty to submit without repining.' His religious principles had never been with him mere matters of speculation; he had studiously applied them to the regulation of his temper and his conduct. He had lived by his faith; it had enhanced his joys; it had mitigated his sorrows, and now he felt its inestimable value, in the sentiments of filial confidence towards God which it encouraged, in the trust which it enabled him to repose in a wise and gracious Providence, and in the prospects it opened to him beyond the limits of this transient scene of human being. He was chiefly occupied on devotional subjects, and in hearing passages from the Scriptures read to him; but when a friend called in occasionally, he would enter into conversation, and take an interest in the passing events of the day. He remained in this state till within a few days of the closing scene, when, though seemingly sensible of the presence of those about him, he was not able to speak, yet his lips were observed to move as if employed in prayer. On the morning of the 10th

of July he ceased to breathe, and expired without a struggle or a sigh, having attained the age of eighty-two years.

'Servant of God, well done! well hast thou fought  
The better fight, who 'nobly' hast maintained  
Against revolted multitudes the cause  
Of truth, — — — — —  
And for the testimony of truth hast borne  
— — reproach; far worse to bear  
Than violence: for this was all thy care,  
To stand approved in sight of God, tho' worlds  
Judged thee perverse.'—pp. 107—109.

We have been drawn much farther than we intended from the immediate purpose of this article, yet we know not that we could in any other way have rendered more efficient service to the cause of Peace, than by presenting the example of one who resigned rank, emolument and friendship, that he might bear witness to its claim on the regard of Christian men. This example is worth the more, from the personal excellence and professional standing which forbid the imputation of any sinister purpose, as much as the deliberation which marked his course saves him from the charge of passionate or partial judgment. If it be to his praise, that "he uniformly maintained a religious and virtuous character" amidst the temptations of a life which its admirers admit abounds with moral dangers, a well formed opinion of such a man on a subject on which he was singularly qualified to express a judgment, ought not to be treated as if it were the decision of a weak or visionary mind. Mr. Thrush, however, does not stand alone in the revolution which took place in his opinions. Many in Great Britain and in this country have come to similar conclusions with those which he entertained respecting the unlawfulness of war. And it is among the encouragements of the time, that so many are ready to confess the fact of such a change. The truth is beginning to be understood, and Christendom even now proves itself not insensible to its influence.

We do not mean to attribute more to the direct action of Christianity than facts will warrant, but let any one look at the history of the last ten years and he cannot fail to perceive what a large approach has been made towards a recognition of the great principle, that peace should be the aim of nations. The assertion of this principle by writers and its adoption by statesmen would give a new character



to the politics of the modern world. The step would be easy from this principle to a perception of the uselessness, and then would not men soon come to an acknowledgment of the unlawfulness, of war? Other causes have conspired, and will conspire, with Christianity in enlightening public sentiment. Other agencies may have been more effectual than Peace Societies or Peace Addresses; but it is the injustice of silly prejudice, to deny them any participation in turning the thoughts of men in a right direction. The journal, the title of which we have given at the commencement of our remarks, affords proof that the friends of Peace are not idle. The "Advocate" was originally published by the American Peace Society, of which it is still the organ. At the beginning of the present year it was given into the hands of Mr. Burritt, better known by the truly honorable appellation of "the learned blacksmith." Under his management it has acquired more suitableness to the tastes and wants of the times. This is not, however, the only, nor the principal channel through which Mr. Burritt communicates with the public on a subject to which he now devotes a large part of his time. The "Christian Citizen," a weekly paper published at Worcester, of which he is the editor, makes this a prominent subject of discussion. He has also adopted an ingenious method of engaging the political press as a coadjutor, by printing brief articles, (of perhaps half a column each,) in favor of Peace, and sending these "Olive leaves," as he styles them, to the editors of the various journals throughout the country, by many of whom they are copied, and so gain circulation in a thousand different neighborhoods. As a further means of enlightening the people, he issues a little semi-monthly sheet, containing facts and arguments, which is freely distributed along the great lines of travel.

The American Peace Society has always been crippled in its operations by the want of funds. As it depends for its efficiency on the circulation of tracts, which must be, in great part, gratuitously distributed, and on the services of agents or lecturers, who must be paid, it needs money as the first condition of success. But as the doctrine which it labors to spread, to wit, that war is both unnecessary and wrong, was till of late directly opposed to the belief of almost the whole world, it has been obliged to rely rather

on the zeal than on the number or wealth of its supporters. Very much of what has been accomplished in this work is owing to the disinterested and unwearied energy of two men, very unlike in many personal qualities, but alike ready to give themselves to the promotion of a cause connected most closely, in their judgment, with the best interests of humanity and the consummation of the purpose for which Christ came upon earth. The name of Worcester has become a watch-word with those who are carrying on this great moral enterprise, and to his writings more than to any other single cause may we attribute the position which it now holds among the philanthropic movements of the age. The late Mr. Ladd, besides losing his life through his indefatigable exertions, left the bulk of his property to the Peace Society. Unforeseen embarrassments have till recently prevented the advantage, which he intended, from accruing from this bequest, nor was its amount such as very much to increase the resources of the Society. With all the difficulties against which they have been obliged to contend, we can only rejoice that its Executive Committee have been able to act with so much vigor, and we do sincerely and earnestly commend their labors to the countenance of our readers; who may cooperate with them by enrolling themselves as members of the Society, by purchasing and distributing the various publications which bear its imprint, by attending its meetings, held in various parts of the country, and by speaking on every suitable occasion in behalf of the principles and policy which it advocates. Its object is carefully defined in the Constitution, and should not be confounded with anything else, good or bad. Attempts have been made to create a prejudice against those by whom its operations are conducted, on the ground of an improper desire which they had shown to connect the Society with other questions now before the community; but for any one acquainted with their proceedings, no evidence was needed of the injustice of such an imputation. At the late annual meeting, however, the Society thought proper to guard against any misconception of its character in future, by passing a series of resolutions, pronouncing that "the Society, as it ever has done, will confine itself strictly to the single object of abolishing international war;" that "the Society be so managed as to

be kept entirely distinct from all extraneous subjects, as it has heretofore been"; and that "the basis of the First General Peace Convention in London, 1840, viz. 'the inconsistency of war with Christianity and the true interests of mankind' be regarded as the proper basis of cooperation in the cause of Peace."

The recent danger of a rupture with Great Britain called forth, both there and here, an expression of sentiment which we regard as a most happy omen for the future; nor do we doubt that the strength of this expression had weight in determining the counsels of our rulers. It was a glorious fact for the Christian to contemplate and for the historian to record, that when the governments of the two countries seemed to be drawing nearer every moment to an actual collision, the people on both sides cried out that it must not and should not be; and this, not from fear of defeat if the battle should be joined, nor from an apprehension of the disastrous influence on business, but from higher considerations — from a perception of the incongruity of war with the true principles of civilization and Christianity. The Addresses which have been exchanged between the Old World and the New, deprecating the recurrence of hostilities, and appealing to the sympathies of a common humanity, are among the noblest productions of the age. We read them with more pleasure than the most forcible declarations of our rights to which the Revolutionary struggle gave birth, for they mark a higher point in the progress of mankind. Those breathe the rough notes of liberty, these the sweet tones of love. The era of liberty is but the preparation for the era of love. The Addresses from the citizens of old Boston and old Plymouth to the inhabitants of places bearing the same names on this side the great ocean, from Sunday School scholars in England to those who enjoy similar instruction in America, from ministers of the Gospel of "the Father" to others holding the same divine faith, are pledges as well as proofs, that outweigh in value a thousand State papers or Speeches of eloquent men. They come from the people, who are every day approaching their true position as the rulers of the world. They foretell a time when the lion and the eagle will be accounted unfit emblems of national sovereignty, and Massachusetts will be glad to erase at least one

word from the motto she now bears on her escutcheon — “*Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.*” We cannot perhaps introduce in a more suitable place one of these Addresses, which it is proper should appear somewhere on our pages. It is

*“From the undersigned Ministers of the Gospel, in Great Britain and Ireland, worshipping ‘One God the Father,’ to the Ministers of the same faith with themselves in the United States of America.*

“BRETHREN, — We address you with painful feelings, on the critical state of the relations which exist between your country and our own. For more than thirty years we have been at peace; a long period in the life even of the oldest of us; a period during which some of us have come into existence, and others have grown up to manhood, and entered upon that sacred calling, in the duties of which we are engaged. In that period the nations to which we respectively belong, have become mutually better acquainted, and, we trust, more endeared. For ourselves, we feel bound to you by the remembrance of the wise, the holy, the benevolent, who now sleep in Jesus; by our veneration for the memory of Channing and the Wares, of Tuckerman and Worcester, of Abbot, Buckminster and Greenwood; and by our regard for many who are yet living and laboring among you, with some of whom we have had personal intercourse, while to others we are indebted for valuable contributions to theological science and religious literature. And we are earnestly desirous, that between a nation with which we are thus connected, and our own, no other relations should exist than those of mutual helpfulness and love.

“Disputes have arisen between Britain and America about their respective claims to the possession of the Oregon territory. We give no opinion on the subject: we neither determine, nor ask you to determine, whose claim is the stronger; but we are sure that the value of the territory to either party is as nothing compared with the guilt and the sufferings of war.

“A proposal has been made to refer the dispute to arbitration. It has been rejected. We do not here censure the rejection; but we may be allowed to regret, that an opportunity should have been lost of applying the practice of arbitration to national differences; a practice the prevalence of which would soon make war, with all its enormities and horrors, an obsolete barbarism. The rejection increases the probability of war; — war which substitutes for a discussion of moral right, a mere struggle of physical force; which appeals from the perception of truth and the practice of justice, the glorious distinctions of our nature, to

the exercise of violence; and in which we surrender our prerogative as men, and take our precedent from the brutes, who are impelled solely by appetite, and have not the faculties requisite for a just decision.

"The prevalence of Christianity and the advancement of civilization have prohibited all war except between nation and nation. Individuals must submit their conflicting claims to the award of law: the magistrate represses all attempts to overrule or supersede right by force. In our families we repress all violence, and if our little ones attempt to decide their differences by blows, they are promptly taught, by instruction and rebuke, that it is not thus that questions between brethren should be settled. And are we not all brethren? 'Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?' And does He look with less displeasure on strife and violence than we do? If we, being evil, are anxious to train up our families in mutual affection, and visit with displeasure every infringement of it; how much more shall our Father who is in heaven, look down with holy anger on his children, when they forget the tie of brotherhood that binds them, and engage in mutual injury and bloodshed.

"Brethren, we say not these things as if it were needful to convince you; for we are sure that you sympathize in those feelings of abhorrence with which we regard the apprehended war. But we are desirous to strengthen your convictions and feelings by the expression of our own; and we invite you to co-operate with us in cherishing those sentiments of mutual regard, which, we trust, will yet secure the continuance of peace between our respective nations, especially as the latest information gives us more cheerful hope of the peaceful spirit of your countrymen generally. As disciples of the Prince of Peace, as preachers of the gospel of peace, we feel that we are acting in consistency with our holy profession, when in our public ministrations, in our pastoral intercourse, and in every possible way, we maintain peace, and strengthen the spirit of good-will among men; and we shall be happy, if, in this momentous crisis, we can contribute to so desirable an object. We are sure, Brethren, that in responding to our invitation, you will be doing that which you will remember with satisfaction to the latest moment of your existence, and of which you will not be ashamed before the Lord Jesus Christ at his coming. Let our united prayers ascend, that 'the God of Peace may give us peace always, by all means.'"

Many circumstances indicate that a pacific policy must in future govern the relations of civilized nations towards one another. The cabinets of Europe, if they do not avow,

show that this is the policy which they are anxious to maintain. Louis Philippe, the wisest monarch of the age, has openly and repeatedly committed himself to such a policy. Even Austria, bristling with bayonets, and Russia, the last of the European powers to emerge from barbarism, avoid, rather than seek, occasions of war. The change which has taken place in this respect within a single generation, is immense. Difficulties are now arranged by means of diplomatic discussion, that within our own time would have been referred to the decision of arms. The last Report of the American Peace Society observes, we believe, with perfect truth, that "had public sentiment on the subject been what it was fifty years ago" — or even thirty — "no power on earth could have prevented a fierce and protracted war" from arising out of the recent difficulties between our Government and England, "that might in its progress have involved the leading nations of Christendom, and overspread the whole earth with its baleful results."

We are not so simple as to imagine that modern statesmen go to the New Testament for the principles by which to regulate the intercourse between their respective countries. That is to be the glory of another age, when rulers shall sit at the feet of Jesus, and the Gospel shall be studied as the text-book of the politician. But we esteem it no small gain, that public men must regard, and cannot mistake the effect of war on the industrial and commercial interests of nations. War is seen to cost more than it is worth. Glory is a dear purchase when it beggars a people, or throws all their affairs into confusion. The day is not very distant, when Franklin's story of the whistle will be read with as much self-application by the man who is called to vote supplies for an army, as by the boy who has only six copper cents to spend. Neither is it a circumstance of but little moment, that a generation has grown up unused to war, and — what is better still — accustomed to the security and comforts of peace. To be sure, the world has not quite outgrown the folly and blasphemy in which it has long indulged, when speaking of the field of battle and the warrior's claim to admiration; but we think that few have read without a thrill of horror that terrible passage in the account of a victory which the British army gained a few months since in India: — "The river was full

of sinking men. *For two hours volley after volley was poured in upon the human mass* — the stream being literally red with blood. *No compassion was felt or mercy shown.*" It will not need many such confessions of the character of warfare, to call forth a cry of indignation before which even a Wellington might quail. To be sure, there is still a fascination about military success, that neither wise men nor good men seem to have the power to resist. But it is a fascination, not a calm conclusion, by which they are held, and which cannot therefore hold them always under its influence. Ten years hence many a member of Congress will wonder at his own votes in the summer of 1846. To be sure, they who write on the wickedness and impolicy of war take special care to except defensive war, and tell us in poor, bravado style, that "in a war waged against our undoubted rights, we [Americans] feel ourselves more than a match for the world";\* but this blemish cannot destroy the force of their juster thoughts, nor prevent sensible readers from perceiving what needless pains they take to intercept the effect of their own arguments. To be sure, young men can be found to play the soldier, and boys to run after them as after any other grotesque exhibition; but in an age, when Catholic prelates bless the locomotives of a railroad instead of the standards of an army,† we do not much fear that the custom of war will prevail over the habits of peace.

\* See an excellent paper on "War in its Democratic and Economic Relations" in the last number of the "New Englander;" a journal, of whose general management we would speak in terms of sincere admiration; but that the editor should have used its pages for the publication of such atrocious nonsense as fills one paragraph of another article in the same number, confounds us. A Christian writer, in the shades of New Haven, wishing that "a warlike spirit, rightly based, and rightly kept alive," may be given to our age, and pronouncing "their war spirit" "not the least best" among the noble qualities for which we revere our ancestors!

† At the late opening of the railroad from Paris to Belgium, celebrated with great pomp at Lille, on Sunday, June 14, the Archbishop of Cambrai "proceeded to the benediction of the locomotives. We saw the proud machines," says an eye-witness, "advance slowly, inclining the flags with which they were decorated, and stop at the feet of the archbishop, who pronounced over them the sacramental words." We can conceive of a more appropriate employment for the successor of Fenelon, on the Lord's day. Still we say it was better than pronouncing a benediction on military banners. And as a sign of the tendencies which place our age in such strong contrast with the past, it was not an unprofitable ceremony.

It may be thought that the war in which we are involved with Mexico is a contradiction of what we have said respecting the prevalence of more just opinions, but we consider this only a cloud, which, though black indeed, cannot long overhang the fair prospect on which we have been looking. Of that war we do not hesitate to speak in the plainest terms of reprobation. We contemplate its character from a higher ground than any which political considerations might furnish. We regard it simply in its moral aspects; and we say, that viewed in this light, it is a war which can only involve this country in disgrace and guilt. It has already plunged it deep in guilt and disgrace. Let Mexico have been ever so neglectful of justice to us, it was base and mean in us to send our forces into her territory, whether to conquer or to frighten her. The war was sought by us, is at the moment when we write this needlessly and wickedly prosecuted by us, and, end as it may, must leave a blot on our name. And we believe that this is the opinion of three-fourths of the sensible part of the people. The calm good sense of the country, from one end to another, is against the war. It may save or it may ruin an administration, — we care very little which, for we are not party men; but it must soon be brought to a close, or the people will demand the cessation of hostilities in the deep-toned language of alarm and indignation, — alarm at the disregard of the nation's interests, and indignation at the sacrifice of moral principle.

The country will soon take this matter out of the control of selfish or weak politicians, and save its honor from further damage; or if it cannot do this, it will take a lesson from its own experience that will not be without its use. Peace is the only wise or safe policy for this republic. War will not expose us to the danger of conquest by a foreign power, but it will bring upon us the greater evil of the destruction of our virtues by our own hands. Peace is the only sound policy for all nations — the only policy that will enable them to expand the resources which they possess or to preserve the blessings which they now enjoy. Peace is the destiny of the world. War belongs to barbarism and Heathenism. Civilization and Christianity must rule the future, and they will secure the prevalence of pacific principles. When we are told that war is inevitable, we need only answer that Christianity is Divine.

E. S. G.



## ART. III.—THE CHURCHES AND THE CHURCH.

WHOEVER reads the Gospels thoughtfully, and forms to himself an idea of Christ, his meaning and aim, from their records, must be struck with the huge incongruity between that idea and Christianity as it has existed outwardly in the world since the time of the Apostles,—the successive churches of our faith. We may safely affirm, that it was no one of these which Jesus had in his mind when he said, "On this rock will I build my Church." Above all, it was not that Church which claims emphatically to rest on this basis, and to be the fulfilment of this prophecy; which sees in its high priests the lineal descendants of that Apostle whom Jesus denominated the rock, and believes its pontificate, the Papal see of Rome, to be the seat actually occupied by Peter and transmitted by him.

There has been manifested of late, among Protestants in various quarters, a disposition to fall back upon this Church and to renew this claim in its behalf. In England particularly, during the last year, numbers of clergymen, and among them distinguished members of the Established Church, have formally joined the Romish Communion. Without attributing too much importance to this movement, we cannot but regard it as a very remarkable sign of the times. And yet we hardly know what it signifies. We can compare it to nothing but the act of a man who should close his shutters and light a candle at mid-day, or who should blindfold his eyes and suffer himself to be led about by a groping, imbecile guide who had lost the use of his through utter decrepitude. In some cases the motive professed, is the desire of finding a sufficient historical foundation on which to build an ecclesiastical institution. That members of the English Church in search of such a foundation should prefer Rome to England, is not surprising. For though Rome, no more than England, can claim to be the original, Apostolic institution, it has certainly a broader basis and a more imposing lineage. The error lies in seeking to found an ecclesiastical establishment at all, in flat contradiction to the spirit of that religion which says, "neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem," but "in spirit and in truth." In some cases it is a

matter of sentiment,—a lively fancy taken with the picturesque exterior of Catholic worship, and the charm of antiquity that hovers round a Church which once overshadowed the world, and which calls the “eternal city” its cradle and its home. But this charm, like the beauty of some picturesque but decayed city of the Old World, is better appreciated and enjoyed by the Protestant who looks at it from a distance than by the Catholic who lives in it. A Gothic ruin is a thing to visit, to gaze at and to muse on, but not to imitate, nor to dwell in. A feudal castle perched on some craggy eminence at the angle of a stream—a relic of those stalwart centuries which cradled the modern world—may well attract the poetic mind. The spirit of the past seems to brood over those grey walls. One would like to spend a summer’s day in such a spot, and dream of the days and deeds of old. But what should we think of the wisdom of him, who from mere love of antiquity should sell the house over his head, a comfortable modern house, suited to modern uses and wants, to go and burrow in a corner of some dilapidated Gothic ruin? No! Let by-gone be by-gone! Let the dead bury their dead! We will honor the past for what it has been. It shall be venerable to us as an object of contemplation, as a study and a treasure-house of wisdom, but not as a city of habitation.

The Church of Rome, although once a saving and beneficent institution, could never with propriety claim to be the Church intended by Christ. Although once a true Church, it could never be called *the* true Church. The true Church, among other qualifications, should be a catholic or universal Church; and that the Roman has never been. The phrase, “Roman Catholic,” is a contradiction in terms. So far as the Church was Roman, it was peculiar, limited, and ceased to be catholic. The Roman Church was never a universal Church from the time that it bore that name. It was always a schism, a fragment, as the name imports. The beginning of its existence was a schism. The beginning of its existence was the separation of the Roman patriarchate, with its dependencies, from the Greek patriarchate with which it had formerly constituted one Church. Even that Church, though calling itself Catholic, did not comprise the whole body of Christian believers. The Church had never been one since it first

became identified with the secular government under Constantine, and since, with the aid of secular authority, it attempted to establish a uniformity of faith. The first attempt of this kind, in the first Christian Council, broke the Church in pieces. Then, and at subsequent Councils, fragments were struck off and distinguished as heresies from the larger portion which called itself Catholic. In the fifth century the Roman Patriarch took upon himself to excommunicate the Greek Patriarchs for their participation in an edict of the Emperor Zeno,\* the design of which was to reunite with the Church a portion of the Christian body which had been cast off as heretics at the Council of Chalcedon.† This edict was a catholic act, it was done in a catholic spirit. The Roman Patriarch in opposing it acted schismatically. And thus the Roman Church was a schism, a fragment at its very commencement; made so by its own act. The larger portion of a broken vessel is not less a fragment than the smallest. The Roman fragment of the broken Church was no more entitled to call itself Catholic than the Greek; and the Greek may, at this day, with far greater propriety than the Roman, claim to be the original Church, founded by the Apostles; seeing it has changed less than that with the course of time. But the claim in either case is absurd, for the Christian doctrine was already so modified at the time of the first Council, A. D. 325, by Platonizing Fathers and a Paganizing laity, that neither Peter nor Paul would have recognised their teaching in the Nicene Creed.

The Roman Church then, with all its pretensions, is neither more nor less than a *sect*. It cannot even claim to be the eldest sect. That honor, if it be one, belongs to the Nestorians and Armenians who were cast off by decrees of Councils before Rome became a separate Church. This is a point of little consequence in itself, but it becomes important in view of the claim preferred by the advocates of Rome to be the oldest Christian Communion; and when Protestants speak, in the cant phraseology of the times, of returning into the bosom of the mother Church, it behoves them to consider that, if the Church of Rome is the mother of the various Protestant sects, she is far from being the

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\* The Henoticon.

† The Eutychians.

eldest church. She is herself but one among other daughters of a mother long since extinct.

But the antiquity of a church is no argument, nor even a presumption in its favor. They who rely on it assume, that the nearer we approach Christ and his Apostles in the order of time, the nearer we approach them in the order of doctrine. But this is not the fact, unless we go farther back than any existing church can trace its history; in other words, unless we go back to the New Testament; in whose pages, whatever else we may find, we shall meet with no encouragement to return to the bosom of Rome. The doctrine of the New Testament is onward, and forever onward. "Forgetting the things that are behind, and reaching forth unto those that are before." "Therefore leaving the rudiments of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection." "How turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage?"

Christianity, as a positive historical religion, is progressive. To maintain that it is perfected by any Council or number of Councils, that it is contained pure and entire in any creed or symbol or confession of faith, is a sin against the Holy Ghost. Christianity is progressive. Although in its essence and innermost spirit unchangeable — "the same yesterday, to-day and forever," — as an agent in time, it changes with the time. It advances with the progress of society. It adapts itself to successive periods of man's growth. Man as a race has a destiny to fulfil. Man as a race is made the subject of progressive education. He is sent into one school after another, to learn one truth after another as he is prepared to receive it. The Law, says Paul, "was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ." It was only an external Christianity, however, for which that instruction prepared men, — better, more spiritual than the old Law, but still external, symbolical, compared with the teachings and spirit of Jesus. The Christian Church is another schoolmaster; the different forms of that Church are successive schoolmasters, to bring men to the true Christ — the wisdom and the power of God.

It is from this point of view that we must judge of the Roman Church, if we would form a true estimate of its value in time past, and the influence it has exercised on the mind and life of man. We must not judge it by the mind

of Christ as we understand it in this advanced age, but we must view it in connexion with the period in which it originated. We must not judge of it as a fulfilment of the Gospel; that it certainly was not. Gospel truth is one thing, and the Christian Church, during the greater part of its history, has been another and a very different thing. But we must take it for what it is, or rather, for what it has been and for what it has accomplished in time past. Viewed in this aspect, the Church of Rome will be found to have been, in its best days, a saving and beneficent institution. Though not the original, Apostolic Church, — still less, the Church which Jesus had in view, the realization of his idea, — it was once a true Church, and a saving institution among the nations, — we need not hesitate to say, even a divine institution. During all its forming period, until it attained its perfect development, — say till the close of the eleventh century, — its priests and leaders, for the most part, wrought in a divine spirit. Of course there were many exceptions, but this was the rule. It was the case with those who stand most prominent in its annals, the authors of those measures which contributed most effectually to its growth and power. They wrought in a divine spirit, and were divinely guided to the use of such means and institutions as were most conducive to the good of humanity, for the time being. If the Church did not express the deepest mind of Christ, it did express and satisfy the spiritual wants of the times. If it did not teach the pure truth, it was at least a faithful schoolmaster to bring men to the truth. It performed an important part in the education of humanity. It tamed the rude strength of the Gothic nations, and served, more than any secular changes or civil institutions, to unite different portions of the human family by means of a common faith. It would be easy to show, that every principle advocated by the Church prior to the close of the eleventh century contained a germ of truth, and that every important measure adopted by it contributed something essential to the well-being of the times. Even the supremacy of the Pope proved on the whole a benefit to Christendom, by furnishing a counterpoise to secular usurpation. Gregory VII., who consummated this supremacy and made the Church independent of secular authority by forbidding the priests

to receive their investiture from the hands of laymen, was probably actuated by a pure regard to the best interests of Christendom, in this and other measures which have usually been regarded as the offspring of personal ambition.

This distinguished Pope, the most able and one of the most devoted in the long line of Roman pontiffs, closes what may be regarded as the forming and growing period of that Church. With him, after six centuries of gradual growth, it reached the summit of its power, and after him it began to decline. Hitherto it had been a true Church. Its servants in name were its servants in fact. The Church was more to them than anything else. Its service was their first aim and their chief joy. And its service was identified with the good of the souls which it had in charge.

But now a new spirit took possession of the Church. Its chief servants were oftener actuated by personal ambition than by religious zeal. They wrought no longer in the spirit of faith, but in the spirit of hypocrisy and intrigue. Often infidels at heart and libertines in practice, they made their office a cloak for all manner of wickedness, and the good of the Church a pretext for all manner of extortion. Sensual enjoyment was the watch-word whispered in the Vatican; and it was soon *réechoed* from the farthest convent-cell. How to procure that enjoyment at the expense of the laity, was a problem to be solved by all the expedients which priestly cunning could command. The most profitable of these expedients was the sale of indulgences; and this, accordingly, became the prevalent practise of the Popes in the period which immediately preceded the Reformation. The indulgence originated in a pecuniary fine which the Church imposed in certain cases, instead of penance. This custom had obtained, to a certain extent, in the better days of the Church, but degenerated in the hands of such men as Alexander VI., Julian della Rovera, and Leo X., into a written license to sin with impunity, on the payment of a sum proportioned to the offence.\*

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\* Christ, said these men, did not take upon himself all the penalties of sin. There are some which still remain unpaid. These are the penances appointed by the Church and the torments of purgatory. Our indulgence absolves from both. The first we remit as Head of the Church, the second by our intercession as ambassador of God. But absolution cannot be given for nothing, an equivalent is necessary, which the Pope will devote to pious purposes.

Large editions of such licenses were issued from time to time, according to the pecuniary necessities of the Popes. These editions were purchased on speculation by travelling merchants, who retailed them at public auction. It is easy to imagine what must be the influence, on the minds of the people, of a venal salvation,—a salvation which could be purchased at auction. In its better days the Church was the friend and patron of learning. Indeed what little learning there was in the world existed almost exclusively in the bosom of the Church. But now, the Church persecuted learning, and especially theological learning, as a dangerous enemy. The reading of the Scriptures by the laity was prohibited by heavy penalties. The study of them in the original was considered a crime.\*

Such was the Roman Church,—so degraded intellectually and morally,—when Luther and his contemporaries appeared and prepared the way for a new Church, or rather, a vast number of new Churches; each one of which approaches more nearly the idea of Christ, and may therefore claim, with greater truth, to rest on the foundation of the Apostles and to have Peter for its origin, than that of Rome; seeing there is no evidence but that of tradition, that Peter ever saw Rome, much less that he held a bishopric there. That any one of these Reformed Churches actually occupies this foundation, that any one of them is the one which Jesus had in his mind, none but a fanatic will assert. Approximation, more or less advanced, to that ideal Church, is all that any of them can claim.

Two truths, of last importance to the spiritual well-being of man, are involved in the Protestant Reform. One is the right of private judgment, the right to form our own faith from such materials as are given us, and especially from the Christian Scriptures. The other is intimately connected with it, and may be considered as a necessary inference from it, namely, that religion is not stationary, but progressive. And these are precisely the two points on which the

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\* The language of a Dominican, quoted by a writer of this period, illustrates the brutal ignorance of the lower clergy. "They have," says he, "invented a new language which they call the Greek; beware of it, it is the mother of all heresies. I see in the bands of some a book written in this language called the New Testament. It is a book full of thorns and poison. And as to Hebrew, whoever studies that becomes at once a Jew."

Christian world is at this moment divided. What is the controversy between Romanism and Protestantism, between Episcopacy and Congregationalism, between most Congregational sects and our own? It is, whether we shall form our religious opinions for ourselves, or whether we shall have them thrust upon us by human authority, in the shape of a creed. It is, whether we shall advance or stand still; whether we shall go on, according to our light, to unfold the Christian idea and to apply it to the social condition of man, or whether we shall stop short at some given exposition of it, and there set up our everlasting rest.

Protestantism, in its largest sense, means progress. The *protest* is against limitation, limitation by human authority; —against the presumption which says to the immortal mind, thus far and no farther! This is the meaning, if not the language of the Church of Rome, — limitation. The fatal error of that Church, the error against which the soul of humanity protests and will evermore protest, is not its theology. It is not the exposition of Christian doctrine given by the Council of Trent. It is not the ritual, nor the absolution, nor the mummary. These things would correct themselves, if the Church were not self-limited. The fatal error is the assumption of infallibility, the assumption of absolute, God-given authority to dictate and command in matters of belief. Whatever meaning that assumption might have had, when the Church was in advance of the average mind, it is a fatal error now; altogether contrary to the wants of the age in which we live, altogether incompatible with individual and social progress. The objection is not to the large demand which is made upon our faith. We must walk by faith and not by sight, in a vast number of cases, whatever Church we walk in, and though we walk in no Church at all; and we are miserable indeed, if we do not believe a great deal more than we can see. Nevertheless, we will walk by sight, even in matters of religion, where we have sight to walk by. Where we can see, we will not shut our eyes. We will use them as far as they may avail. We will not blind ourselves for the mere pleasure of groping in the dark. We will not complain, as some have complained, that "the Church has too much light." We will be thankful for all we have, and pray for more, not preferring the darkness,



but worshipping the God who "is light," and in whom is no "darkness at all." Not counting ourselves to have already attained, we will press forward to new revelations from him, the Father of lights. While we honor the past for what it has been, we will remember that our business is in the fleeting present, and our goal in the infinite future ; that as our eyes are placed in front and not behind, and as our feet point in the same direction with our eyes, so it was intended that, morally and spiritually also, we should go forward and not backward. And we will trust that the same Providence which guided the old world, is present also to this, and that the same spirit which built the house wherein our fathers worshipped, will rear for their children also a temple worthy itself and them.

The protest, we repeat, is against the claim of the Church to supreme and absolute truth. It is true, the Protestant sects have, each in turn, repeated this claim in substance, while opposing it in form. While quarrelling with the fixed standards of other Churches, they have in turn, fixed standards of their own ; while they claimed for themselves the liberty to advance as far as they had explored the ground, they have virtually said in their turn, " thus far and no farther." In this they have been false, without intending to be so, to the first principles of Protestantism. They have only *romanized* on a new foundation. There is no middle ground for a Church to stand upon, between the Catholic idea of infallibility, and that of individual conviction and congregational freedom. Everything between these stops short of a principle. Everything between these is a compromise, a half-measure, a position which contradicts itself. Every Church which sets up for itself a creed, a standard of faith, and makes that standard the condition of communion, is Popish so far forth. It has the fatal error of Popery without its palliation. It would be more consistent, if it went the entire length of the Romish doctrine and claimed infallibility at once. There are but two Churches in the world, that of spiritual authority and that of spiritual freedom. The Christian who would be consistent, must choose between these two. But though Protestant sects have been false to themselves, Protestantism is none the less true in principle and spirit. The meaning of the reformer is one thing, the meaning of the reform as a Prov-

idental movement is another thing. The meaning of Protestantism, however falsified and lost sight of by Protestants, is still the same. It is a protest against spiritual domination, a cry for liberty and progress.

Is Protestantism then the true Church? Or can Protestantism alone give us the true Church? We think not. Liberty and progress are essential elements of a true Church, but they do not constitute a Church in themselves. Moreover, Protestantism, though it embodies a vital principle and a great truth, contains also a vicious element which, if left to itself, would be fatal to religion as a social institution, and which is incompatible with the existence of a permanent Church. That element is disunion. The tendency of Protestantism is centrifugal. It tends to diverge, to scatter, to divide and subdivide without end. It requires the counterpoise of a centripetal principle to prevent social religion from becoming extinct through endless division. That principle which Protestantism wants, and which Romanism has, is union. The true Church must be catholic, it must embrace the whole. It must gather into one all the elements of Christianity which are scattered abroad. It must recombine the scattered members of the body of Christ. It must attract all Christian sects, all who call themselves Christians, around a common centre, to co-operate for common ends. It must unite the Roman and the Protestant elements,—the social and the individual. It must be union and progress, union and liberty. Protestantism alone is liberty and progress without union, Romanism alone is union without liberty or progress. A true Church must combine both. It must reconcile the spiritual *rights* of the individual with the spiritual *interests* of society. It must find a form of union which shall not compromise individual liberty, and which shall not only be compatible with progress, but the most effectual means of promoting it.

What must be the centre and nucleus of such a union? Evidently, not a creed or system of doctrine. The experiment of uniting on a creed has been often tried, and always failed in the long run. It always must fail, in consequence of the imperfection of language and the innate diversities of the human mind. The bond of union must not be a speculative idea, but a practical one. The mischief hitherto

has been, that men have attempted to unite on speculative grounds. No permanent union is possible on that basis. When men begin to speculate, they fly asunder in every direction; but when they come to act, they are drawn nearer together. The reason is obvious. Speculation is a business which every one can perform for himself; but in order to act with much effect, we require the aid of our fellow-men. Thus we see that the practical reforms of the day unite Christians of the most opposite opinions in one aim, and draw them nearer to each other.

Here, we think, we have a key to the solution of this problem and a guide to the true Church. Christianity is a practice, not a speculation. Consequently, practical reform, the regeneration of society in the image of Christ, the putting away of sin and social evil from the world,—this must be the centre and nucleus of Christian union. What is the fundamental idea of Christianity, that which all will allow to be so? Christ a manifestation of the Divine nature; a union of the human and the Divine; a Divine humanity. This is an idea around which all who call themselves Christian, whoever will call themselves Christian, can unite. And closely connected with this, and a necessary inference from it, is the call to us, to all the followers of Christ, to aspire to a divine humanity, to unite the divine with the human in their lives; in other words, to lead a divine life, to remove all the obstructions which lie in the way of such a life, all social evils and abuses—war, slavery, oppression in all its forms,—to break every yoke, to undo every burden, to put away all sin. In a word, reform, the regeneration of society in the Christian image,—this is practical Christianity. In this all practical Christians can unite; must unite, if ever the ends for which Christ lived and died are to be accomplished on earth. Such a union would be a true Church, Catholic and Protestant in one. And such we conceive to have been the Church which Christ intended to rear. Apostolic faith, the faith which was in Peter and his fellow-laborers,—this is the rock on which it must be built; and Christ, the Divine humanity,—this is the end for which it must strive. Such a Church would be nothing less than the reorganization of society on a Christian basis. A Church is the highest to which society can aspire. Higher than the State,

which unites men as mortals, on the ground of self-defence, for mutual protection in selfish pursuits; the Church is the union of men as immortals, on the basis of love, for common and everlasting ends.

There are not wanting, to our eyes, hopeful indications of such a Church in the signs of the times. Among these we may mention the movement which is now making among the Catholics of Germany; — a movement which, while it casts off the yoke of the Romish hierarchy, still retains the Catholic name and the Catholic idea of union, and whose aim, in the language of its leader, is to “perfect the work which Protestantism began, and to carry out Christianity to its legitimate results.” We see farther indications of such a consummation in the tendency of Christians of all denominations in our own land to unite in the great work of social reform, and, casting aside sectarian distinctions, to make zeal for the cause of mankind, not orthodoxy of opinion, the test of a Christian.

There is a spirit at work in the affairs of men, mightier than all ecclesiastical establishments and sectarian combinations. The old lines are everywhere disappearing, old sects are breaking up. The tide of humanity is sweeping away these petty barriers, and bearing us and our institutions on to a higher mark and a better day. A time is coming, when the only Christianity that shall pass current shall be the practical Christianity, which believes in a heavenly kingdom to be realized on earth, in the social perfection of man, and which labors, in the spirit of Christ, to promote it; and when the only heresy that shall not be tolerated, shall be the practical unbelief which opposes that consummation. A time is coming, when there shall be but one Church — the Catholic Protestant Church of Christian union and Christian progress; but one order of priesthood — the hierarchy of the wise and good; but one standard and law — “the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus.”

F. H. H.

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ART. IV. — MUNFORD'S *ILIAD*.\*

It is impossible to present Homer in perfection to the English reader. Our language does not admit of it. The attempts that are made, with whatever ability, can attain but a partial success. The method that is chosen, in securing its particular advantage, must forego some other that would perhaps be but little less desirable. Macpherson undertook to translate the *Iliad* into literal prose. It sounds so much like his Ossian, that we have sometimes wondered that it found no more favor among the admirers of that singular mixture of falsehood and fact. We have never seen, however, any reprint of it from the elegant quarto volumes, in which it was first given to the public. We are even inclined to think that many will be surprised to hear of the existence of such a work, so entirely has it been forgotten. The magnificent paraphrase of Pope is in everybody's hands, and continues to be read with delight. If it is not Homer, it is at least one of the finest poems in our language. No one will think of rendering the tale of Troy into heroic couplets after it. Cowper followed with his blank verse, which we think has received less attention and praise than it deserves. One cause of this comparative neglect undoubtedly is, that the splendid poetry of his predecessor threw his humbler style into the shade. Mr. Munford, in his new version, has adopted the same measured but unrhymed lines. He tells us in his preface, that when he began his work, and indeed till it was considerably advanced, he had not even heard of Cowper's translation. When it came into his hands, it does not seem to have discouraged him, but rather to have filled him with the expectation of greatly surpassing it. In this, we think that he has failed altogether; and in several respects, we fear that he did not sufficiently weigh his ability against his enterprise. "Pope," he tells us, "has equipped" his Homer "in the fashionable style of a modern fine gentleman"; while "Cowper displays him 'in rags unseemly,' or in the uncouth garb of a savage." He proposes "to introduce him in the simple, yet graceful and

\* *Homer's Iliad*. Translated by WILLIAM MUNFORD. Boston: Little & Brown. 1846. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 452 and 524.

venerable costume of his own heroic times." In both these criticisms there is more pretension than justice. The fame of Pope's version remains untarnished after the lapse of much more than a hundred years; and Cowper's, though it may lack nobleness now and then, shows the hand of a poet in every part. Now this is just the hand that Mr. Munford had not to bring to his task. "I have not imitated Milton," he says, "or any other writer. With a boldness which some may consider presumptuous, I have made an attempt to adopt a style of my own." We must frankly say that this "boldness" appears more clearly in his ambition than in his verses; and that this peculiar "style" is one of the most ordinary that we are apt to meet. It is not elevated, not strong, not simple, not discriminating. If free from gross faults, it does not bear any large stamp upon it, or show any considerable signs of a high and true culture. With occasional exceptions to the contrary, it is prevailingly clumsy and flat. For example, read such lines as we take at a venture from the close of the twenty-second book:—

"So spake the weeping fair one; groans and sighs,  
To her's responsive, from the females came."

There are many hundreds like them; and though we may not see much in them to find positive fault with, they are so mean and unskilful as to give little promise of excellence in more important passages. The Homeric line at this place is a single one, and of the very plainest kind. Cowper also expands it into two, thus:—

"So, weeping, she: to whom the multitude  
Of Trojan dames responsive sigh'd around."

Which is certainly not in his neatest manner, and sufficiently weak; but yet its marked superiority over the other must be obvious to everybody. And this is but a sample, the better for being so humble, of what might be illustrated to any extent in comparing the two versions together. "Weeping fair one" is not according to Homer; any more than "venerable dame" is a proper epithet for the goddess Thetis, in that beautiful description in the First Book, where, sitting in the depths of the sea, she rises from it like a mist, in answer to the prayer of Achilles. Before leaving the subject of Cowper's translation, we would say again,

that it merits something better than the slighting manner in which we commonly hear it referred to. With our estimate of his poetical abilities, it does not seem to us to fall below them. It should rather add to his reputation than detract from it. It is an ingenious and scholarly performance. We are sorry that we cannot say so much for the work before us.

We ought not to forget, and we do not, that it was written more than twenty years ago, when materials were much less ample than now for doing it well; and that it has been published posthumously, thus denied the advantage of the author's last corrections. At the same time, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that he has not availed himself of the critical aids that were easily accessible to scholars even so long ago as when he wrote. "The Lexicon of Schrevelius" is often appealed to, as if it were quite an authority, and there is no sign of the slightest acquaintance with what the German scholars had done. We hardly know how to account for such a deficiency in the learning that was requisite for the acceptable fulfilment of his task, when we consider the classical zeal and high purpose with which it was undertaken. This deficiency, however, is not conspicuous till we come to the notes, which are appended to each book, and help considerably to swell the volumes. Serious, therefore, as such a deficiency is, it is less striking than the general want of a fine taste in the language of the poem itself. The words are often ill-chosen and ill-arranged, turgidly prosaic, without dignity or just force, giving a heavy, lumbering expression to the meaning that they seem struggling hard to convey. We would not be understood to imply that there are not here and there passages very well done; but we think we commit no injustice in saying, that the description just given is applicable to the greater part of the work. The style is usually more like the attempt of a young student than the finish of an accomplished writer. If any one still thinks our judgment too harsh, we commend to his attention the following passage, taken almost at random:

"But furious Hector, calling loudly, bade  
His Trojans to the ships to rush forthwith,  
And disregard the spoil: Whatever man  
I notice from the ships of Greece remote,  
I doom to instant death." — xv. 453 — 457.

It is unnecessary to point out particular blemishes in what is altogether so helplessly poor.

We have observed several mistakes in the pronunciation of proper names. The standard here is so absolutely fixed, that one is surprised at any departure from it. And yet sometimes excellent scholars are found tripping. Both Pope and Cowper, for instance, place the accent on the second syllable of Briareus, as Mr. Munford does after them. It is true that the Greek accent is so placed; but the scanning of the lines where it occurs, both in Homer and Hesiod, does not permit us to pay regard to it. Virgil would seem to have set the question completely at rest for those who were inclined to raise any:

"Et centumgeminus Bríareus, ac bellua Lernæ."—Æn. vi. 287.

No English custom or authority is sufficient to set aside the old classic evidence that speaks for itself. We cannot say that we are satisfied, either, with the liberties that this translator sometimes takes with his author, as if he would make out something better than the original. When Agamemnon sends an embassy to Achilles, in the ninth book, offering him among other things the choice of either of his three daughters in marriage after the war was over, if he would forget his resentment and rejoin the army, Mr. Munford thus makes mention of these "dames";—which word, by the way, he is very apt to confound with "damsels," and rather comically sometimes:—

"Chrysothemis,  
With ev'ry grace adorn'd; Laodice,  
My people's joy; Iphianassa too,  
A queen of beauty."

The careful reader might suspect that some trick was played upon him here, in this very unhomeric expansion. He ought to be told, therefore, that the names of these ladies fill just one line of the *Iliad*, without the least syllable of description added to either of them. And yet "the queen of beauty" and the rest are paraded before us two several times, in the commission of Agamemnon and in the speech of Ulysses, who of course, herald-wise, repeats what he was charged with. Another example of this spreading out beyond the original document is found in the eighteenth book. A whole page is filled with the fanciful



qualities of the sea-nymphs of Thetis, borrowed from the signification of their names, while almost nothing beyond the simple names themselves is heard of from the old bard. The translator excuses himself for saying so much more than is set down for him, by imagining that a literal rendering would be "insufferable." We think his manner of dealing with the "puzzling passage" much more so. We feel bound to say, indeed, of his version from beginning to end, that it is most wearily diffuse, as unskilful compositions usually are.

If from the text we pass to the notes, we must pronounce them to be, to the last degree, vapid and superficial. Their illustrations are without instruction, and they contain no criticism that is entitled to the least respect. We meet also, here and there, a little theology of an exceedingly narrow and questionable sort. Mr. Munford, as we have already said, does not seem to have made any advance towards the highest fountains of thought and information upon the subjects which he has been so venturesome to treat. Father Eustathius and Madame Dacier furnish the most learned references that he has to entertain us with. His remarks are therefore of necessity meagre; for he draws but little from his own resources, and that of no very choice quality. He is evidently no master of that kind of philosophy which belongs to his undertaking. He even leaves us in doubt whether he was aware of the existence of any such. His views of classical mythology, besides their inadequateness, are singularly confused. He mixes together the most dissimilar theories, apparently without being sensible of any inconsistency between them. The same personage stands at one time as a real historical existence, and at another is only a name representing one of the departments of nature. For example, we are told, (Vol. II, p. 518,) that the education of Achilles by Phœnix and Chiron, "with the instructions of his mother Thetis, made him indeed one of the most accomplished princes of the age in which he lived"; while we had read, nine pages before, that "Juno, the goddess of the air, is said to have been the nurse of Thetis, because the sea is partly supplied with water by rain from the clouds." The most amusing part of this note is what follows, explaining the account of this "maritime goddess" bringing to her son the arms that

were divinely forged by Vulcan. He supposes that after the hero had lost his armor by the death and spoiling of his friend Patroclus, he was so lucky as to buy a brand-new suit from some trading vessel that happened to come along. Thetis was therefore said to have procured it for him. We have heard of a certain Euhemerus, who would see in all the gods and goddesses nothing but deified men and women, and pretended to have found the tomb of Jupiter. He turned the whole of Olympus into an actual but forgotten history, which he traced to an inscribed column in the island of Panchaia. We know also of one Dr. Paulus, in our own day, who endeavored to resolve all the miracles of the New Testament into actual but perfectly natural events. But we remember nothing in the kind that is more diverting than this naturalizing of the Homeric muse.

We have alluded to the theological references that are scattered about in the notes of our translator. Free-will and fate come in for a place more than once; and from a slight mention of the calamities of mankind he takes occasion to enlarge upon "the character of human nature degraded by sin"; and speaks of "a wicked man as indeed the most loathsome and abominable object in the universe, except a fallen angel; doomed to suffer the inconceivable miseries of never-ending punishment." (Vol. II, p. 228.) Again, the only excuse he can make for Homer's introducing into his poem the blood-thirsty wish of the son of Peleus, in the sixteenth book, is, that "the heart of man is desperately wicked, before it is regenerated and purified by divine grace." His greatest enterprise, however, in this direction, is his explication of that remarkable passage in the ninth book, giving a personification of prayers as the daughters of Jove. "They were called lame," he says, "because imperfect in themselves, and not sufficient to entitle men to the favors of the gods; for which reason sacrifices were considered necessary. So in the Christian system, faith in the great sacrifice of atonement by the Redeemer is needful to give efficacy to prayer." (Book ix. Note ww.) It is easy for any scholar to perceive that the commentator is here wholly off the track.

Neither can we think Mr. Munford much more fortunate in the specimens that he has given us of Scriptural criticism. He is fond of quoting the Bible, and frequently

draws parallels between its descriptions and those of his favorite bard. We cannot say that these are usually drawn with a discriminating judgment. We will select our examples of this only from the 124th and 125th pages of the second volume. One of the notes takes advantage of the expression that Hector was restored to his senses by the will of Jove, after the terrible blow he got from Ajax, to remind his readers that "in like manner, our blessed Saviour said to the man afflicted with leprosy, 'I will, be thou clean'; and the effect was immediately produced." We are sure that no irreverence was intended by so exceptionable a comparison, for the author seems to be a seriously religious man; but the least we can say of it is, that it is in very bad taste. The other instance is still worse. It is where Apollo looked the Grecian charioteers full in the face, and shook his dreadful ægis, and shouted his battle-cry, thus throwing them into dismay and confusion. "It is worthy of observation," Mr. Munford tells us, "that this sublime passage has a strong resemblance to one in the book of Exodus," (xiv. 24,) where it is said, 'And it came to pass, that, in the morning-watch, the Lord looked unto the host of the Egyptians, through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians.' " Now it happens, that this "strong resemblance" is a most striking contrast. The effect in Homer is produced by rapid motion and an appalling cry; while the image in the Exodus owes its whole sublimity to its repose and utter silence. "The Lord *looked* unto the host of the Egyptians." Another word would have spoiled the whole effect of the passage. If we would seek for a second description as sublime, it must be in the Scriptures themselves; and there we shall find one even more so. It is the 32d verse of the civth Psalm:—"He *looketh* on the earth, and it trembleth; He *toucheth* the hills, and they smoke."

Our annotator seems doomed to be unfortunate whenever he applies his acuteness to the sacred volume. We see this infelicity in another of its phases, where he speaks of the friendship between Achilles and Patroclus as resembling that of David and Jonathan. He adds this new verse to the fine funeral lament of King David: "As a mother loveth her only son, so did I love thee;" and then goes on with this extraordinary piece of simplicity: "This last

admirable expression of David is not in our English translation of the Bible, but I found it in that by Sebastian Castello, [Castalio,] in Latin. Why it was omitted in the former I know not, being unacquainted with the Hebrew. It seems to be worthy of the subject, and bears a characteristic mark of being genuine." (B. xxiii. Note b.) The case does not invite any comment. A similar simplicity, though in another way, seems to mark note "d" of the tenth book, where Agamemnon is represented as looking towards the plain of Troy and seeing "innumerable fires." "The meaning is," says Mr. Munford, "that in thought, or in the mind's eye, meditating intensely, he viewed them, for being in bed in his tent, he could not see them in reality." We hope it was not mischievous, if we felt inclined to see "a strong resemblance" between these words and the speech of the Governor of Tilbury fort to his daughter: —

"Hold, daughter! Peace! This love hath turn'd thy brain!  
The Spanish fleet thou canst not see — because  
It is not yet in sight."

We have seemed to ourselves called on to say thus much, on the score of literary justice. We certainly have no disposition, or temptation, to be ungenerous towards the well-meant labor of an estimable and honored citizen. But we are afraid that the tendency of most of the criticism of the present day is towards favor and flattery. The truth is kept back, in order that friends may be gratified. This is not honest, to begin with; and we consider dishonesty to be not only a crime, but a treason in the republic of letters. We are, moreover, persuaded that the reigning temper of adulation is extremely unfriendly to a high literary standard. Works of ambitious mediocrity, from whatever quarter they come, should be plainly spoken of as no better than that. This should be done for learning's sake. We think, too, that there should be more wariness in publishing the writings of those, who are no longer here to say what they would wish should be done with them. The last remark does not apply very well, it may seem, to this translation of the *Iliad*, since it was prepared for the press by its author, a short time before his death. But Virginia has lately seen the reputation of one of its most eminent sons sadly exposed, by an indiscreet publication of

his papers after his lamented decease; nor do we feel by any means confident, that the book now in our hands would have seen the light, at least in its present form, after a lapse of twenty years, if the author had lived so long to pursue his favorite studies and enlarge his views in relation to them.

The typographical execution, like that of everything that comes from its publishers, is excellent. We cannot help, however, pointing out two great faults; which we do not charge to their account, for they undoubtedly printed the manuscript as it was put into their hands. One is, that the number of each Book is not marked at the top of the page. The other is, that the page itself is always one uniform, solid column; with nothing to distribute it before the eye; no resting-place where one may hope to halt awhile; no gap of a breathing-place through the close lines. It is enough to bewilder and exhaust one, only to look at it. We never before saw a book without paragraphs, and hope never to see another.

N. L. F.

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#### ART. V.—SPHERE OF HUMAN INFLUENCE.

CHARLES BABPAGE, in his “Ninth Bridgewater Treatise,” has a chapter concerning the permanent impression of our words upon the air, — a chapter which none have ever read without a thrill of mingled admiration and fear; and which closes with an eloquence that were worthy the lips of an orator, though coming from a mathematician’s pen.

Would that Babbage had touched, in his fragmentary treatise, upon some of the inferences which may be drawn from the Newtonian law of gravity, inferences which would probably have been as new to most of his readers, as those which he, with so much acuteness, draws from the law of the equality of action and reaction.

The motion of which Babbage speaks in the chapter to which we refer, is undulatory, communicated by impulse and requiring time for its transmission; and the startling result of his reasoning comes from the never dying character of the motion, keeping forever a record of our words

in the atmosphere itself, always audible to a finer sense than ours; reserved against the day of account, when perchance our own ears may be quickened to hear our own words yet ringing in the air.

But motion is not only enduring through all time, it is simultaneous throughout all space. The apple which falls from the tree is met by the earth; not half way, but at a distance fitly proportioned to their respective masses. The moon follows the movement of the earth with instant obedience, and the sun with prompt humility bends his course to theirs. The sister planets with their moons are moved by sympathy with earth, and the stars and most distant clusters of the universe obey the leading of the sun. Thus throughout all the fields of space, wherever stars or suns are scattered, they move for the falling apple's sake. Nor is the motion slowly taken up. The moon waits for no tardy moving impulse from the earth, but instantly obeys. The speed of light which reaches the sun in a few minutes, would be too slow to compare with this. Electricity itself, coursing round the earth a thousand times an hour, can give us no conception of the perfectly simultaneous motions of gravity. There are stars visible to the telescopic eye, whose light has been ages on its swift-winged course before it reached this distant part of space; but they move in instant accordance with the falling fruit.

True it is, that our senses refuse to bear witness to any motion other than the apple's fall, and our fingers tire if we attempt to unite the long list of figures, which our Arabic notation requires to express the movement thereby given to the sun. Yet that motion can be proved to exist, and the algebraist's formula can represent its quantity. The position of every particle of matter at every instant of time, past, present, or to come, has been written in one short sentence, which any man can read. And as each man can understand more or less of this formula of motion, according to his ability and his acquaintance with mathematical learning, so we may conceive of intelligent beings, whose faculties are very far short of infinite perfection, who can read in that sentence the motions not only of the sun, but of all bodies which our senses reveal to us. Nay, if the mind of Newton has advanced in power since he entered heaven with a speed at all proportioned to his intellectual growth

on earth, perhaps even he could now with great ease assign to every star in the wide universe of God the motion, which it received from the fall of that apple which led him to his immortal discoveries.

Every moving thing on the earth, from the least unto the greatest, is accompanied in its motion by all the heavenly spheres. The rolling planets influence each other on their path, and each is influenced by the changes on its surface. The starry systems wheeling round their unknown centre move in harmony with each other, and bend each other's courses, and each is moved by the planets which accompany it in its mighty dance. Thus does this law of motion bind all material bodies in one well balanced system, wherein not one particle can move but all the uncounted series of worlds and suns must simultaneously move with it.

Thus may every deed on earth be instantly known in the farthest star, whose light, travelling with almost unbounded speed since creation's dawn, has not yet reached our eyes. It only needs in that star a sense quick enough to perceive the motion, infinitely too small for human sense, and an analysis far reaching enough to trace that motion to its cause. The cloud of witnesses, that ever encompass this arena of our mortal life, may need no near approach to earthly scenes, that they may scan our conduct. As they journey from star to star and roam through the unlimited glories of creation, they may read in the motions of the heavens about them the ever faithful report of the deeds of men.

This sympathetic movement of the planets, like the mechanical impulse given by our words to the air, is ever during.

The astronomer from the present motion of the comet learns all its former path, traces it back on its long round of many years, shows you when and where it was disturbed in its course by planets, and points out to you the altered movement which it assumed from the interference of bodies unknown by any other means to human science. He needs only a more subtle analysis and a wider grasp of mind to do for the planets and the stars what he has done for the comet. Nay, it were a task easily done by a spirit less than infinite, to read in the present motion of any one star the past motions of every star in the universe, and thus

of every planet that wheels round those stars, and of every moving thing upon those planets.

Thus considered, how strange a record does the star-gemmed vesture of the night present! There, in the seemingly fixed order of those blazing sapphires, is a living dance, in whose mazy track is written the record of all the motions that ever man or nature made. Had we the skill to read it, we should there find written every deed of kindness, every deed of guilt, together with the fall of the landslide, the play of the fountain, the sporting of the lamb, and the waving of the grass. Nay, when we behold the superhuman powers of calculation exhibited sometimes by sickly children long before they reach man's age, may we not believe that men, when hereafter freed from the load of this mortal clay, may be able in the movement of the planets or the sun to read the records of their own past life?

Thou who hast raised thy hand to do a deed of wickedness, stay thine arm! The universe will be witness of thine act, and bear an everlasting testimony against thee; for every star in the remotest heavens will move when thy hand moves, and all the tearful prayers thy soul can utter will never restore those moving orbs to the path from which thy deed has drawn them.

T. H.

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#### ART. VI.—HOPKINS'S LECTURES.\*

THE city of Boston owes a large debt of gratitude to the founder of the Lowell Institution. His original plan was characterized by a wide, far-seeing wisdom, as well as benevolence; and he was scarcely more happy in its conception, than in the arrangements which he was able to make to ensure its being carried into successful execution. The name of Lowell has through a succession of generations been an honored one in this Commonwealth; and if it be a grateful spectacle to see children rear monuments in mem-

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\* *Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, before the Lowell Institute, January, 1844.* By MARK HOPKINS, D. D., President of Williams College. Boston: T. R. Marvin. 1846. 8vo. pp. 383.



ory of their fathers, it is a still more beautiful one to see them emulating and equalling them in their public usefulness.

Were we to frame in imagination some scheme which in the long run would secure the greatest amount of good, it must, as an essential condition of success, be one which, in some way or other, should bring the mass of the community into close contact with its best minds. To accomplish this is difficult; but wherever it is not done, society is split up into castes determined not by artificial rules, but by differences of ideas. They stand on different levels of thought. There is no gulf so deep, no wall so high between different classes, as this. And the most wretched class that swelters and starves in the cellars and lanes of the great European capitals, is not to be pitied so much because it is doomed to have the body fed on scanty and unwholesome food, as because the mind is fed, or famished, on a lower and poorer kind of ideas. On the other hand, there is no greater good done than when the truths, to which the best minds have laboriously attained, are made the property of all. To spend an hour with a great and good man, standing on his level and looking at the world from his point of view, will often give an impulse and direction to a person which will not be lost through life. And when the members of a community, drawn from all callings and classes, come into contact with such men, and hear them treat elaborately those subjects in which they are most interested, it will be found before long, that their ideas have spread widely, that they have done much to determine the starting-points and direction of thought and speculation, and to a greater or less degree colored the general mind. It is an influence not immediately seen; and not easily measured. But if familiarity with the best models raises the standard of taste, familiarity with the best minds raises the standard of thought and attainment; and that community will always be found to be in advance of others, where the best instructed men, instead of forming a class by themselves, are constantly in their various departments brought before the people at large.

To aid in promoting this object is the purpose of the Lowell Institute. The lectures delivered in this institution differ entirely from the common popular lectures, in that

they consist of courses of sufficient length to allow of an elaborate treatment of the subjects brought forward. The lecturer attracts those who have affinities with himself, and the hearers are prepared to listen, from interest either in the subject or in the speaker. Since the institution went into operation, in 1839, a large number of courses have been delivered on the most important subjects, and by men holding the first rank in their several departments. The attendants on these several courses have varied from one to several thousand persons. Thus conducted, the Lowell Institute is a University for the people. Few Universities in the world could boast of a better series of lecturers, and fewer still, of so many attendants on the lectures. Nor is it a well founded objection, that they are not heard by the most ignorant classes of society. It is far better, that the audiences should be composed of those who are able to appreciate the best thoughts of the best minds. Such persons become the teachers of others, and the ideas which they have received spread insensibly through the mass of society.

The volume at the head of this article contains twelve Lectures by President Hopkins on the Evidences of Christianity. It possesses great merits. The style is clear, forcible, not infrequently rising into eloquence, and always marked by a business-like character, proceeding by the shortest way towards the main point, as if the writer were too much in earnest to waste either his own or other's time on matters of secondary importance. Having at the outset stated, with the good sense that characterises the whole volume, the precise object which he purposes to accomplish, he examines the question of the antecedent probability or improbability of miraculous communications from God, and then shows how far miracles are susceptible of proof, and how far they are the fitting evidence of a Divine revelation. Having disposed of these preliminary topics, he proceeds to an exhibition of the internal and the external evidences of the truth of our religion. In treating of the internal evidences, his great object is to show that Christianity is adapted to the wants and capacities of human nature, and thus contains in itself the highest evidence of its truth, and while doing this, to bring to view those circumstances which make it impossible to account for the existence of

such a system without attributing to it the supernatural origin which it claims. This branch of the subject is especially important, for it presents the kind of evidence which to nearly all men is the most convincing. It meets the wants of those who have neither time nor opportunity to examine the historical evidence. It requires no preparation, to feel its force, but a knowledge of Christ's teachings and some experience of life. Any man who possesses honesty and good sense is able to understand and appreciate it, and to such a one, it seems to us that, if duly weighed, it must be overwhelming.

The great characteristic of a true religion must be, that just in the same degree as it is obeyed, it is suited, from the nature of the truths which it teaches, the duties it enjoins, and the motives it presents, to carry man upward towards the perfection of his nature. We reject the various systems of Paganism without examining their evidence. It is sufficient for us to see, that if they are fully obeyed, the best of them, instead of raising man upward to the perfection of which he is capable, will mutilate and distort his moral being and leave him at a very low stage of moral progress. Many of them tend to repress his best capacities, while they stimulate his passions and lower propensities. We see that a man may be better than these religions. They therefore do not contain the true laws for the growth of the soul. Without further examination we reasonably and logically pronounce them to be false. A religion, on the other hand, which sets forth the true laws of man's progress, and which contains nothing that is not in entire harmony with these laws, bears in itself an unquestionable seal of its truth.

Will Christianity bear this test? It has been in the world eighteen hundred years. We are not obliged to speak theoretically, but may try it by the severer test of experience. Tried in this way, how far is Christianity fitted to be the guide and helper of man to the perfection of his nature?

The most important point in this inquiry is, to show that it is adapted to the conscience. A true religion must, obviously, be fitted to quicken and develop the moral nature, and at the same time to guide its activity aright. President Hopkins argues most convincingly, that Christianity

meets this demand, — that it is adapted to the wants of the conscience, in the first place as a perceiving power, and, secondly, as a power capable of improvement. The first and invariable effect of Christianity, when practically received, is to arouse the conscience, to make it more sensitive to sin, more quick and true in its perception of right. To discover its adaptation to the conscience as a power capable of improvement, we have only to look at the history of the world. There is as much difference between the conscience of a New Zealand cannibal and of Fenelon, as between his intellect and that of Newton. The Sandwich Islanders when first visited by Europeans had scarcely any words by which to express the higher virtues, so little were the moral sentiments developed. But wherever Christianity has prevailed, the moral judgments and moral standards of mankind have constantly improved.

Again, Christianity, as must obviously be the case if it be true, is adapted to the wants of the affections. It would not be difficult to show from an analysis of the mind, that the laws by which our religion would control, and the ends to which it would direct, the affections, are such as are necessary to their healthiest growth and highest development. But experience speaks more impressively than theory. Words cannot describe what Christianity has done for the affections. In a dreary and wintry world, it has opened regions of perpetual summer. It has hallowed domestic bonds. It has created the word *home*, or given it a meaning which it never had before. Woman, throughout the Heathen world the slave of men's lusts or love of ease, Christianity has raised to an equality with man. By its revelations of immortality and by laws and influences bearing on this point, it sometimes seems to have raised even parental love from a merely animal instinct into a spiritual affection. Nay, more; it has not only purified, but has strengthened the affections. Take the strongest of all, that of parents for their children, and who can doubt that Christianity has immensely increased its strength. There is no more significant evidence of it, than a fact of whose existence it is hardly possible to form a conception, — the wide prevalence of infanticide. Throughout a vast part of the Heathen world, child-murder has been held to be venial. Nor has this horrid practice been confined to

the ignorant and barbarous. Solon allowed it at Athens; in Sparta, by the laws of Lycurgus, the mother was required to surrender up for exposure her feeble and sickly offspring; and, still more strikingly, this same practice was to form a chief balance-wheel in the ideal republic of Plato. Even in Christian countries, wherever Christianity loses its hold to any considerable extent on the minds of the people, it is found that the character of human affections is lowered. They lose their sacredness, become sensualised, and so of necessity are enfeebled. What a horrible commentary on this general statement is found in the thronged Foundling Hospital of Paris. And one of the reasons given for sustaining it is still more horrible, — that it is a great nursery of human life — that it is necessary to prevent infanticide.

The adaptation of Christianity to the intellect is not to be overlooked; for although it is not its purpose to give rules for mental culture, we have a right to assume that a true system of religion must be, at least incidentally, favorable to the growth of the mind. That it has been so with Christianity, cannot be doubted. So far as its requirements are yielded to, it brings men out from under the dominion of sensuality and the low vices which dwarf and imbrute the intellectual faculties. It sets an especial value on truth, by making it the foundation of all human good, and so directly fosters that principle which is to the intellect what the love of right is to the moral nature, namely, the love of truth. Wherever it exists in its purity, it protects the freedom, and insists on the responsibility, of the individual mind. It brings up before all believers problems, fitted peculiarly to task the faculties, whose practical importance secures for them the most serious consideration. And, above all, it makes familiar to the humblest Christian a class of truths beyond all others the most sublime, the most elevating and purifying and inspiring, on which the mind can be employed. The study of the classics, of natural philosophy, of history, of political economy, doubtless tends to enlarge and liberalize the mind. But their influence in this direction is not to be compared with that which results from devout meditation on the Divine character, from the contemplation of nature and man in their relations to a Providence, the investigation of the great problems of philanthropy and the questions of private duty

which our faith presents. This much may be said of Christianity, that it stimulates the mind to investigate, and at the same time reveals for its contemplation the sublimest and the most practical truths. It makes it familiar with great principles; and this not in the way of barren speculation only, but by insisting on their application to one's daily life. The necessary consequence is, that the general culture is most liberal, and civilization in its best sense most advanced, where Christianity has the most power over the general mind.

Without specifying further the particular cases of adaptation, they may all be summed up under one general view. There are no principles in human nature which are intended to be eradicated. They are all good, when kept within their proper limits and controlled by proper laws. But there are many which need excitement, all need to be guided, and all to be restrained. Excitement, guidance, and restraint;—the great problem for all moralists and philosophers has been, to frame a system of living, which should so unite these characteristics and be so adapted to man, as to lead him on to his legitimate perfection and end. Yet so complex is human nature, and so multiplied are human relations, that no philosopher has ever succeeded in framing a system which could in any degree meet this want. The best of them has been some wild Eutopian dream, which would have put the world "out of gear" had it been acted on for a day. Yet that problem which has baffled the wisdom of sages, Christianity has completely solved. President Hopkins devotes an able lecture to the proof of this point. Yet it hardly needs any proof. Nearly all skeptics even, while denying the divine authority of the religion, have been forward to acknowledge the perfection of its morality, and to confess that as a system of excitement, guidance and restraint, not only has experience detected no imperfection in it, but that just as far as men come under its influence, it must carry them forward towards the perfection of their nature.

The first general conclusion to be drawn from this view of the adaptation of Christianity to human nature is, that as a system for the moral government of life, it is the true one. A system, which contains those laws—and none else—which, obeyed, conduct man to the perfection of

his nature, must of course be true. We believe in its truth, just as we do in the truth of the system of astronomy which explains and harmonizes all the planetary motions.

The second conclusion is, that taking into view the connection of the moral precepts of Christianity with the religious truths which enforce them, the character of the system as a whole, the character and claims of Christ, and the circumstances by which he was surrounded, we are compelled to admit that it had the supernatural origin and authority which it claims.

We have not attempted to give even an abstract of the argument presented by Dr. Hopkins. Our purpose has been, merely to indicate the general tenor of a portion of it, in the hope thereby of commending the volume to our readers.

The concluding Lectures, which treat of the external evidences, contain a clear statement of the points to be proved and of the evidence for them. But on the whole, they strike us as inferior to those on the internal evidence. They add nothing to what might be found in many other volumes. They lead us to think that the lecturer was pressed for time, or did not personally feel any strong interest in this part of his work, but added them for the purpose of making the statement of evidences more complete. His heart is evidently in those Lectures which treat of the adaptation of Christianity to the nature and wants of man. Notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject, no treatise occurs to us which presents this branch of Christian evidences more clearly and forcibly. If there be nothing absolutely novel in the view which is taken, it is presented with so much freshness and vigor and felicity of statement, that it seems to us a real addition to our theological literature.

The external evidences require much more space than President Hopkins could give to them, and for this reason as well as the one suggested above, and because in an age of universal publication we want only a man's best thoughts, we think that the volume would be better if all were omitted except what relates to the internal evidences. It would make a complete treatise by itself, and one which we should be glad to place as a first book on Christian Evidences in the hands of any one who was desirous

of candidly investigating the grounds of belief. Still we ought to say, that President Hopkins's volume is better suited to animate the faith of a disciple than to convince the skeptic. He takes his position within the Church, and writes for the benefit of those of whose sympathies he is already sure, rather than for the satisfaction of those who stand without the circle of Christian brotherhood. And in regard to the external evidences, we should prefer that the believer, having examined the first part of President Hopkins's labors, should then read some writer who has treated this department of the subject more elaborately. E. P.

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#### ART. VII. — POETRY.

##### I. HYMN OF WORSHIP.

"The sea is mighty, but a Mightier sways  
His restless billows." — BRYANT.

GREAT is the Lord.  
God of earth's empires, and her nations all!  
To him alone be our deep homage paid;  
Let us bow down and worship him alone!  
The mountains that rear up their awful heads  
Into the clouds, tremble when He is near.  
The sea, in all its billowy might, is stilled  
When He doth speak. The broad, blue arch of heaven  
Was fashioned by his thought; — Orion, and the Bear,  
And the broad belt of stars that spans the universe,  
And all that stud night's sparkling turban, sprang  
Existent at His will. The sons of Earth,  
Whose millions, clothed with life, dwell on the land,  
Or plough the ocean in ten thousand ships,  
And those uncounted multitudes that sleep  
In the pale realms of Death, are His creation.  
Angel and high archangel, that around  
His throne lift up their voices in eternal praise,  
Came thronging from the drear abyss of Nought,  
Through His omnipotence. The golden sun



That lights the day, and lovelier moon that shines  
So calmly through the watches of the night,  
He placed on high.

His presence fills all space : —  
As well the starless void, as where the throng  
Of sparkling planets roll : — as well the forest  
Where timid silence dwells, as the dense mart  
Where nation trades with nation. His path is laid  
In the lone wastes that round the Pyramids,  
And Tadmor's mouldering columns, stretch away  
Beyond the horizon's verge. The eternal snows  
That rest on Himmalee, list to His footsteps.  
The isles that on the bosom of the waters  
Are, rose from their ancient depths to smile  
For Him. The strong leviathan that sports  
Amid the tempest, cleaving with his sides  
The mightiest wave, — the huge behemoth,  
Trampling the cedars, — each obey His voice.  
The forked lightnings terrible, that dart  
Through the cleft heavens, are messengers  
Of Him ; the thunder, frightening the stunned earth,  
Is but His whisper. The Lord is mighty !  
All things are His ! He made, and holdeth all !

The eagle mounting with unfaltering wing  
To pierce yon purple cloud, or reach the height  
Where on the lonely crags he builds his home,  
Is yet no more the object of God's care,  
Than the weak sparrow fluttering in the vale.  
He giveth to the lion sustenance,  
And for the hare he bids the clover bloom.  
The weary ox, panting from recent toil,  
Drinks from His brooks, and from His bounty feeds.  
The Lord is good ! He loveth all his works !

The loftiest seraph, whose resplendent eye  
Pierces eternal mysteries, — the idiot boy,  
That wanders on the hills without a thought,  
And scarcely knows the name men call him by, —  
Both rest within the bosom of His love.  
The wretched poor who want for daily bread,  
Ask not in vain of Him. The mourner's tear,  
Wrung from a heart of anguish at the graves

Of loved ones, He perceives, and giveth balmy hope  
Of immortality.

The wild tornado,  
Wrenching the strongest pines from their firm roots,  
And hurling them abroad in terrible wrath, —  
The earthquake heaving with its awful strength  
Whole continents, — are emblems of his might ;  
Yet he doth guard the pelican's young brood  
While she is absent at the far-off pools,  
And granteth strength to her returning wing.  
Great is his might, and great his goodness ! Let  
One swelling hymn of adoration rise,  
From all that on the land hath habitude,  
And all that liveth in the ocean's deeps,  
To Him who ruleth from eternity !

R. H. B.

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## II. LINES ON THE DEATHS OF LITTLE CHILDREN.

### I.

I CAME where, in its snow-white shroud,  
The form of little Willie lay ; —  
How my heart ached ! I wept aloud —  
For anguish I could scarcely pray.  
“ Oh God ! and is this all,” I cried,  
“ That 's left of little Willie now ? ”  
And bending down by his bedside,  
I kissed that cold and stony brow.  
I looked again ; — “ How calm,” I said,  
“ He slumbers there in sculptured grace !  
Peace visits now that weary head,  
And pain has fled that placid face ! ”  
Dear Willie ! what a weight of grief,  
What agony I've borne for thee !  
But oh, unspeakable relief !  
To feel, thy spirit now is free : —  
To feel that thou art safe and well  
From pangs that rend mortality ;  
That thou art gone, sweet lamb ! to dwell  
'Mid the pure pastures of the sky.

And yet we do not deem thee far,  
Though, from yon world of cloudless bliss,  
Thy spirit beckons like a star \*  
To us, frail sojourners in this :

For He is present everywhere,  
Whose arms of love enfold thee round,—  
Draws near and whispers, in our prayer ;  
“ Behold, the child ye lost, is found ! ”

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II.

’T WAS in the time of early spring,  
When the small rain falls soft and fast,  
When the first vernal warblers sing,  
In hope that winter’s hour is past ; —

’T WAS then our darling’s grave we made,  
Where earth was moist with nature’s tears ;  
And there, in silent sorrow, laid  
The blighted hope of future years.

The *blighted* hope ? Oh, say it not !  
There came no “ voice of words ” from Heaven ;  
Yet, to the listening heart, methought,  
A sign of peace from God was given.

Though stillness brooded o’er the land,  
And but the pattering rain was heard,  
Yet, out of sight, but near at hand,  
Carolled a solitary bird.

So sadly sweet, so sweetly wild,  
The fitful, solemn, cheerful note,  
Above the grave of that dear child,  
Gushed from the little songster’s throat ;

Methought her own pure spirit might,  
E’en at that hour, be hovering near,  
From God’s all-present world of light  
Whispering the mourner holy cheer.

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\* Shelley’s Monody on Keats.

Shall we not own, with grateful trust,  
 Such earnest of a Father's love,  
 And looking upward from the dust,  
 Rejoice in Him who reigns above ?

While o'er the infant's open grave  
 The early birds their carols sing,  
 And summer boughs in beauty wave,  
 And sunbeams fall and flow'rets spring ;

Shall we not hear His voice, who said,  
 To dry the eyes that tears bedim :  
 " God is the God, not of the dead,  
 For all are living unto Him."

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 III.

" WELL with the child ? " Ah, yes, 't is well  
 With that bright creature evermore, —  
 Gone up, 'mid seraph bands to dwell,  
 With God, on yonder starry shore.

Well with the child ? Ah yes, 't is well,  
 Though marble-cold the lily brow,  
 And though nor sage nor seer can tell  
*Where* soars the mind, that beamed there, now.

Well with the child ? Ah yes, 't is well,  
 Though fixed in death that speaking eye.  
 A shadow o'er the spirit fell —  
 It passed — a star is in the sky !

Well with the child ? Ah yes, 't is well  
 With her, the joyous, guileless one !  
 Toll not for her the gloomy knell,  
 Though gilds her grave the morning sun.

Well with the child ? Ah yes, 't is well,  
 And well with us who mourn, if we,  
 By penitence made pure, might dwell,  
 Sweet child of God, with Him and thee !

## REVELATION.

WHEN one who walks by night in fear  
Through woods and wastes without a road,  
And tries with anxious eye and ear  
To find the way to his abode,

Perceives at length its distant light  
Becoming brighter as he moves,  
And bringing full before his sight  
The image of the home he loves;

His fears depart, his spirits rise,  
His step grows strong, his breathing free,  
His rough way smooth, and on he hies  
To meet the friends he longs to see.

'T was thus, through many a weary day,  
That many a weary traveller trod,  
While darkness overspread the way  
That leads to happiness and God;

But lo ! a brilliant, blessed light  
Streams from the "house not made with hands,"  
Which, hidden long from mortal sight,  
At length revealed in glory stands ;

And travellers guided by its rays,  
No longer anxious, doubtful, roam,  
But tread with joy the rugged ways  
That lead them to their heavenly home.

E. W.

## PRESS THOU ON.

ONWARD, Christian ! though the region  
Where thou art, be drear and lone.  
God hath set a guardian legion  
Very near thee ; — press thou on.

Listen, Christian ! their hosanna  
Rolleth o'er thee — "God is Love."  
Write thou on thy red-cross banner,  
"Upward ever — heaven's above."

By the thorn-road, and no other,  
 Is the mount of vision won.  
 Tread it without shrinking, brother;  
 Jesus trod it; — press thou on!

By thy trustful, calm endeavor, —  
 Guiding, cheering, like the sun, —  
 Earth-bound hearts thou shalt deliver;  
 Oh! for their sake press thou on.

Be this world the wiser, stronger,  
 For thy life of pain and peace.  
 While it needs thee, oh, no longer  
 Pray thou for thine own release.

Pray thou, Christian, daily, rather  
 That thou be a faithful son, —  
 With the prayer of Jesus, "Father,  
 "May thy will, not mine, be done."

S. J.

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ART. VIII. — FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF CONGREGATIONALISM.\*

THE Christian Church, — the principles and forms of its organization, the rights and proper qualifications of its ministers, the modes and the efficacy of a true administration of the offices and ordinances of religion, — in short,

\* 1. *History of Congregationalism, from about A. D. 250 to 1616.* By GEORGE PUNCHARD, Author of "a View of Congregationalism." Salem. 1841. 12mo. pp. 388.

2. *A Church without a Bishop. The Apostolical and Primitive Church, Popular in its Government, and Simple in its Worship.* By LYMAN COLEMAN, Author of "Antiquities of the Christian Church." With an Introductory Essay, by Dr. Augustus Neander, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Boston. 1844. 12mo. pp. 432.

3. *The Puritans and their Principles.* By EDWIN HALL. New York. 1846. 8vo. pp. 440.

4. *Congregationalism. A Discourse delivered before the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, Boston, May 28, 1846.* By ALVAN LAMSON. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 8vo. pp. 30.

5. *Puritanism: or, a Churchman's Defence against its Aspersions, by an Appeal to its own History.* By THOMAS W. COIT, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, New Rochelle, N. Y., etc. New York. 1845. 12mo. pp. 527.

all the subjects included under the general term "ecclesiastical polity,"—occupy at the present moment a large portion of the religious discussions and religious interest, not only of our own community and country, but of the whole Christian world. Questions that have slumbered for nearly two centuries, and which most Protestants at least considered definitively settled, have been revived; and many signs indicate that the old battle of the Reformation, the conflict between Church authority and Gospel liberty, between the Bible as a rule to the individual, and the Church as the only competent and qualified interpreter, must be fought again, with something of the earnestness, the determined courage, the watchful and unflinching zeal, that marked the original contest.

To have matters of form and organization excite so much attention, may seem, at first, no very favorable evidence of the state of practical religion. It may be thought to augur ill for the prevalence of an inward, spiritual, living faith, a heartfelt reception of the great moral truths of the Gospel, and a faithful application of them to life and character. Dispute and discussion on these topics may seem idle and mischievous, elevating into importance what is insignificant in itself, withdrawing thought and interest from that which is of first moment in religion and most directly addressed to the heart and conscience. But this would be an erroneous conclusion. We admit, under one aspect of them, the utter insignificance of forms and ecclesiastical organization. They are of no account in the sight of God. We do not believe that anything *outward* in religion is in itself alone of the slightest consequence in his regard, or that the efficacy or the acceptableness with Him of any external religious service depends upon the manner or the office of the person performing it. He cares not in what language, or in what posture the prayer be offered, provided it come from the heart with a sincere and earnest utterance. He cares not when, or where, or how, or by whom baptism be administered, or when, or where, or how, or by whom the word of life be divided and spoken, or the bread and the wine, symbols of the body and the blood of the crucified Redeemer, be offered and received by humble and penitent sinners, provided there be a sincere, reverent purpose, a devout, childlike, trustful faith in the soul. If this purpose

and this faith be absent, the most splendid, regular and orthodox administration of Gospel ordinances and institutions fails of acceptance and efficacy. If they be present, the most simple and, according to our ecclesiastical conventions, the most irregular administration of them is accepted and blessed. "Ye shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father *seeketh* such to worship him;" — this is the great principle and rule of Christ in regard to worship. This spiritual worship of the heart is always accepted. It breathes an efficacy into all the forms under which it may embody and express itself.

In this respect forms and ecclesiastical organization are of too little moment to become questions of discussion and contention.

Under another aspect, however, they become matters of consequence in their effect upon man, upon the progress of truth and freedom, of enlarged and elevated views of Christian duty and character. They may promote or retard the spiritual growth of the soul and the best influences of the Gospel upon society. There is a connection between the form and the spirit of religion. All Christian history teaches that the kind of religious character that prevails in a community, is more or less determined by the kind of ecclesiastical organization that is established in that community, is an expression of the religious ideas comprehended in that organization. The difference between Catholic Mexico and Congregational New England is to be attributed mainly to the different ideas embraced, the different influences exerted by the different modes in which the Christian Church has been organized and the Christian religion administered, in the two countries. A Roman Catholic or a Puseyite Episcopalian must have a conception of the Gospel, of its essential spirit and influences, a conception of the important elements of the Christian character, of "the covenanted mercies of God" and of the conditions of the Divine acceptance and favor, widely different from those entertained by the Congregationalist. The religious character of any man will be modified, his religious conceptions more or less moulded by the ecclesiastical organization under which he has been educated, and which from habit or principle he approves and helps to sustain.

As the influence Christianity exerts, the results it produ-



ces on human society, are thus greatly dependent upon the manner and the forms under which it is administered, ecclesiastical organization becomes not an insignificant speculation, but an important and practical question, the agitation of which is by no means to be regarded as an unfavorable symptom in the public mind. It is not a matter of regret, but of lively satisfaction, that this subject excites much interest, awakens many inquiries at the present day. So far as books can do it, these inquiries seem in a fair way to be answered, this interest to be fed. Within the last few years, in addition to the numerous pamphlets and occasional discourses that have been published, the title of one of which is given above, several substantial works on this subject have issued from the press, sufficiently popular in their character to interest and instruct the common mind, yet exhibiting the fruits of much study and research, embodying so much of the learning connected with it as was necessary to a satisfactory and conclusive argument. Among these we would refer our readers particularly to the three first named at the head of the present article. They are all similar in their character, bearing upon the same general subject, yet having each its own distinct plan and purpose, starting from a different point, but arriving all at the same general conclusions.

The Catholic's sneer at the Protestant, "Where was your religion before Luther"? was well answered in the reply, "Where yours never was,—in the New Testament"; but Punchard in his "*History of Congregationalism*" gives a different, though not a better answer. He shows that Congregationalism is not the child, but the father of the Reformation, that it is no new thing, numbering only one or two centuries, but as old as the Gospel, always having its friends, its advocates, and an existence in the Christian Church. He traces the general principles of Congregationalism through the Novatians, the Donatists, the Paulicians, the Waldenses and Albigenses, the Lollards and Wickliffe, down to their full development by the Puritans of New England. He shows that from the first, in every age and in almost every country, there has been more or less dissent from the authority, the doctrines and the worship of the Catholic Church; and that this dissent, though often embracing other things, and having in each case something

peculiar to itself, has always been based upon, or has to a greater or less extent involved, most of the leading features of modern Congregationalism. He gives the following account of the opinions of Constantine, the father of the Paulicians.

"In the first place, adopting the New Testament as a perfect guide to religious truth, he utterly disregarded and repudiated all 'the opinions, gospels, epistles, and acts,' which had come to be of nearly or equal authority in the church, with the Scriptures themselves. 2. He maintained, that 'the New Testament ought to be read assiduously, and by *all* the people;' in opposition to the teachings of the church, that the priests alone should be intrusted with the sacred treasure. 3. Not finding in the New Testament a recognition of the three orders of clergy — bishops, presbyters, and deacons, — he rejected this dogma of the church as unscriptural. He believed that all religious teachers were 'equals in rank;' and that they should be 'distinguished from laymen, by no rights, prerogatives, or insignia.' 4. The authority of councils to govern the church, he did not recognize; neither indeed, were any such institutions known among his followers. 5. In a word, he utterly rejected the whole hierarchal system of church government then in vogue.

Such were some of the results of Constantine's investigation of 'the creed of primitive Christianity.' These discoveries entitle him to a prominent place among the ancestors of the denomination whose history we are tracing.

In connection with his primitive views of church order and government, he discovered and developed other views of religious truth equally sound. As, for example — the folly and sin of worshipping the Virgin Mary, — of looking to the mediation of saints and angels for favor with God, or of idolizing the work of the sculptor or painter; — the worthlessness of all *relics*, whether bones or ashes; — the impiety of all worship of the cross, a piece of mere wood; — and the absurdity of regarding the eucharistic wine and bread as anything but 'the gifts of nature and the symbols of grace,' the *emblems* of the body and the blood of Christ. That all these important truths were at once discovered and proclaimed by the father of the Paulicians, I do not assert; but, that these were the distinguishing peculiarities of this sect, is perfectly apparent from the accounts given us by the very enemies of this Protestant sect. And if so, the taunt of the Romanists — that 'the Protestants were the progeny of the Paulicians,' — will scarcely be regarded as a reproach." — pp. 80 — 82.

We have made this extract simply as an illustration of what every page of Punchard's work goes to establish, that the leading principles of Congregationalism have always had an existence in the Christian Church. Often persecuted, but never destroyed, often crushed by authority and borne down by force, but never extirpated, these principles have always had friends and advocates, a noble band of martyrs, who, amidst the darkest periods of corruption and under the overshadowing power of the Roman hierarchy, preferred liberty to spiritual bondage, and clave unto the simplicity that is in Christ.

The title of Coleman's work, — "A Church without a Bishop. The Apostolical and primitive Church, popular in its government and simple in its worship," — sufficiently indicates its character and the particular object at which it aims; which is, to overthrow the claim of diocesan Episcopacy to a divine right and an exclusive participation in "the covenanted mercies of God," — to show that Congregationalism in its principles and spirit, its usages and forms, most nearly corresponds with the Scriptural account of the Apostolic and primitive churches, and is most conducive to the cultivation of an enlightened piety and the prevalence of just and enlarged views of the nature and purpose of the Christian religion. To this end he enters into an examination and criticism of those portions of Scripture that relate to the organization, the discipline and forms of worship of the primitive Church, and into a review of ecclesiastical history to exhibit the beginning and progress of the departure from them, and to unfold the usurpations, the character and tendencies of Episcopacy. He examines and objects alike to the hierarchical organization and the ritual worship of the Episcopal Church. His objections to its ritual worship he sums up in the following propositions. 1. The use of forms of prayer is opposed to the spirit of the Christian dispensation. 2. It is opposed to the example of Christ and his Apostles. 3. It is unauthorized by the instructions of Christ and his Apostles. 4. It is contrary to the simplicity and freedom of primitive worship. 5. It was unknown in the primitive Church. His objections to its hierarchical organization are embraced in the following particulars. 1. It is a departure from the order of the Apostolical and primitive churches. 2. It had its origin

not in Divine authority, but in human ambition. 3. It removes the laity from a just participation in the government and discipline of the church. 4. It creates unjust distinctions among the clergy, whose character and profession is the same. 5. It gives play to the bad passions of men. 6. It is exclusive and intolerant in its spirit, assuming itself to be the only true Church, and its clergy the only authorized ministers, and its own, the only valid administration of Christian ordinances. 7. It is monarchical and anti-republican.

Upon this last point he remarks that: —

“Great objection was made to the introduction of Episcopacy into this country, on account of its monarchical principles and tendencies, so entirely counter to the popular spirit of our government and our religion. It was received at last only on condition of making large concessions to the spirit of our free institutions. In the revolutionary struggle, great numbers of that denomination, and a larger proportion of their clergy, remained fast adherents of the British Crown. Indeed the monarchical spirit of Episcopacy and its uncongeniality with our free institutions is too obvious to need illustration. Our fathers came here to establish ‘a state without a king or nobles, and a church without a bishop.’ They sought to establish themselves here, ‘a people governed by laws of their own making, and by rulers of their own choosing.’ And here in peaceful seclusion from the oppression of every dynasty, whether spiritual or temporal, they became an independent and prosperous Commonwealth. But what affinity, what sympathy has its government, civil or religious, with that of Episcopacy? The one republican, the other, monarchical; in sympathy, in principle, in form, they are directly opposed to each other. We doubt not that the members of that Communion are firm friends to our republican government; but we must regard their religion as a strange, unseemly anomaly here; — a religious government, arbitrary and despotic, in the midst of the highest political freedom; a spiritual despotism in the heart of a free republic!” \* — pp. 319, 320.

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\* A distinguished American prelate, Rev. Dr. Hawks, has claimed for the hierarchical organization of the Church a close congeniality with the organization of our Federal and State Governments, making the Bishops correspond to the Governors of our several States, the House of Bishops to our United States Senate, the vestrymen and lay delegates to Conventions to the members of the House of Representatives. It is certainly a matter of surprise, that a claimant of “Apostolic succession” should resort to an argument so weak, an illustration so defective. What resemblance is there between our Governors, who are chosen annually and derive authority from election by the people, and Bishops, who *hold office for life*

By those who have Puritan blood in their veins, by those especially who can trace back their descent to any one of that "noble army of martyrs," the Pilgrims of the Mayflower, Dr. Hall's book, "*The Puritans and their Principles*," will be read with more interest probably than either of the other volumes we have noticed. The design of the work, as stated in the "advertisement," is "to set forth the causes which brought the Pilgrims to these shores; to exhibit their principles; to show what those principles are worth, and what it cost to maintain them; to vindicate the character of the Puritans from the aspersions which have been cast upon them, and to show the Puritanic system of Church polity,—as distinguished from the Prelatic,—broadly and solidly based upon the word of God, inseparable from religious purity and religious freedom, and of immense permanent importance to the best interests of mankind." Persuaded beforehand of the truth of these propositions, Puritan ourselves by descent, by education and by the convictions of personal faith, we have, of course, read Dr. Hall's book with a mind predisposed to acknowledge the force of his arguments and to adopt his general conclusions. Making all due allowance for this favorable prepossession, in sober judgment, we think he has successfully accomplished the broad design at which he aimed, as fully as it could be done within the compass of four hundred pages. He begins with a brief survey of the religious condition of England previously to the time of Wickliffe, and describes the life and character and opinions of that extraordinary man, the persecutions to which these opinions

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and claim to derive authority from a divine right, and an official efficacy for their acts through the grace of an uninterrupted "Apostolical succession?" What resemblance is there between the United States Senate, whose members hold office for six years, who as a body have a limited executive and legislative power, and as individuals in their particular States have no power at all, and the House of Bishops, who hold office for life, who are supreme, each individually in his own district, and in their associated capacity over the whole land, having all executive authority, the expounders of all laws that exist, with an absolute veto upon any proposed to be made. The comparison entirely fails in some most important particulars. There is, in fact, no resemblance between the two things compared. Introduce the distinctive features of the Episcopal hierarchy,—office for life, with a union of executive, legislative and judicial functions in the same body,—and ours would no longer be a free republican government. The old Venitian oligarchy would be found to have been the very essence of liberty and purity in comparison with it.

were exposed in himself and his followers, and the influence they exerted in preparing the way for the Reformation in England. He then traces the origin and progress of that Reformation through the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, exhibiting the conflicting influences, the unworthy motives, the shameless compromises, through which that Reformation ended in the establishment of a Church, Calvinistic in its articles, Popish in its liturgy, spirit and forms, and subsequently, as sarcastically, but truly said by Lord Chatham, "Arminian in its clergy." The rise of Puritan principles during this period from the seed planted by Wickliffe, their gradual development and growth amid peril and persecution, the sufferings endured, the patience, firmness, steadfast zeal for liberty and truth, manifested by those who maintained these principles, their struggles for existence and toleration under James I. and Charles I., their triumph during the period of the Commonwealth, and the circumstances under which, previously to their being defeated and borne down in England by the restoration of Charles II., they had secured an asylum and a refuge on these shores in the establishment of the churches of Plymouth and Salem, germs of mighty and magnificent results, — all this is briefly but graphically unfolded, without the omission of a single important fact or principle, and in a way to impress the reader with the truth of Hume's admission, that to the Puritans alone, "the English owe the whole freedom of their Constitution," and make him feel that the history of their principles, their perseverance and their achievements, is one of the noblest chapters in the records of humanity.

Having given this historical exposition of "the Puritans and their principles," Dr. Hall proceeds to examine the validity of these principles and to discuss the questions at issue between the Prelatic and Congregational organization of the Church. He examines into the materials, structure, and discipline of the Church; aims to show that no national, provincial or diocesan Church is recognized in the New Testament; that as to earthly rule, it is a republic, and not a monarchy; that the Apostles, being extraordinary officers of the Church, have properly no successors; that two orders, — deacons, to "serve tables" and manage the secular affairs, and bishops or presbyters or pastors, (dif-

ferent titles of the same person,) — constitute the only officers of the Church spoken of in Scripture, elected or appointed by those to whom they minister; that the Gospel is a scheme of salvation, not through the intervention of a human priesthood, and a valid administration of sacraments, — which is the Prelatic idea, — but through justification by faith, requiring the soul to embrace and obey truth, which is the Congregational idea. In conclusion he examines the comparative tendencies of the two systems, and in respect to the principles and institutions of the Puritans, is “quite willing to point to their results in New England, and to ask whether it would be any loss to mankind, should such principles and institutions be extended throughout the world.” This portion of the book, (as indeed the whole volume,) is prepared with great ability, and as a brief, comprehensive and conclusive statement of the argument against the character and claims of Prelacy, it could not perhaps be better done. It may be thought possibly, that in one or two instances Dr. Hall is rather severe upon the prelatists, and that he indulges occasionally in a vein of satire, humorous and almost caustic, hardly suited to his subject. But, recollecting that Dr. Hall lives in Norwalk, the severity will be pardoned probably by those who have read Bishop Brownell’s Charge, and are familiar with the recent bearing of Episcopacy towards “*dissenters*” in Connecticut; and, as to the satire, it must be admitted that some of the claims and principles of Episcopacy are so ridiculous, that ridicule seems the strongest, if not the only argument with which to meet them. Lest we should do injustice to Dr. Hall in the minds of our readers, we lay before them one or two passages, as examples of what we have alluded to. They will perceive the force of his argument in each case, and we are persuaded, will not find much fault with the manner in which it is presented.

Speaking of Bishops and their ordination, he says :

“It is absolutely certain, that for a hundred years after Christ, the name Bishop, whether used by Apostles or Fathers, signified the Pastor of a Church; never a person holding a degree above that office.

And yet, I apprehend, that till quite recently, the mass of the common people, who have entertained Episcopal views, have rested upon the name Bishop, in the New Testament. Till re-

cently the mass of Episcopalians have not dreamed that their Diocesans were not Bible Bishops, but veritable Apostles. The views of their learned men were confused and contradictory. The learned Dr. Hammond maintained that all who bore the title of Bishops or Presbyters in the New Testament, were Prelates; and that none of the second order were ordained during the Apostolic history. Dodwell on the other hand maintained, that Bible Bishops were simple Presbyters; and that no Prelates were ordained till in the second century. Owen observed, two centuries ago, that 'the most learned advocates of Prelacy begin to grant, that in the whole New Testament, Bishops and Presbyters and Elders are every way the same persons in the same office,' (vol. xx. p. 394). At the present day, all well-informed Episcopalians fully admit this to be true. Thus Bishop Onderdonk, in his work on Episcopacy, says (p. 12), 'it is proper to advert to the fact, that the name Bishop, which now designates the highest grade of the ministry, is not appropriated to that office in the Scripture. That name is there given to the middle order, or Presbyters; and all that we read in the New Testament concerning Bishops (including, of course the words 'Overseers,' and 'oversight' which have the same derivation), is to be regarded as pertaining to the middle grade. \* \* \* It was after the Apostolic age that the name Bishop was taken from the second order, and appropriated to the first, \* \* \* and when we find in the New Testament the name Bishop, we must regard it as meaning the Bishop of a parish, or a Presbyter. The Bishop of a diocese, or the highest grade of the ministry, we must seek there, not under that name, and *independently of any name at all.*' \* \* \* 'The word Bishop,' — 'in Scripture, means a *Presbyter*, properly so called.'

With this view, Chapman, Chapin, Bowden, and all modern Episcopal writers fully agree.

This, however, is a point in which the framers of the Prayer-Book were unfortunately 'overseen.' In searching the Scripture for something to read at the ordination of a Diocesan Bishop, they could find nothing to the purpose at all, save one or two passages which use the word Bishop; and in which, it is now unfortunately discovered, that the word signifies no diocesan at all, but the simple Bishop or Pastor of a single Church; a mere Presbyter. But there it stands, as the Epistle to be read at the ordination of a Diocesan: 'This is a true saying, if a man desireth *the office of a Bishop*, he desireth a good work.' 'A Bishop then must be blameless.' Or as a substitute for this, the passage in Acts xx. is set down, 'from Miletus Paul sent to Ephesus, and called the Elders of the Church;' 'And said, take heed \* \* \* to the flock which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers' (original *ἐπισκοπους* — Bishops). And our good



Diocesans at the ordination of a brother diocesan—in full canonicals and with all gravity, continue to read these passages, as though the word Bishop here meant (as they know it does not) a diocesan Bishop, and not a simple Presbyter! Why do they do this? Why do the people suffer it? Are they willing to pass this word Bishop, knowing it to be, for their purposes, base coin? or are they to be slaves, in perpetuity, to an old form, which they know is—in relation to the purpose for which they use it—a falsehood? or is it because, forsooth, some Scripture must be had, and they may as well use this for want of a better? Surely, surely, if a Diocesan be such an essential corner-stone and pillar to the very existence of a Church, some Scripture ought to be found which can, by some decent pretext, be used with some pertinency at his ordination. Surely, surely, if Apostles had successors, it is wonderful that the record should be made so abundantly of inferior officers, but no record of the ordination of a successor Apostle! If there is such a record, pray let us have it in the Prayer-Book. If there is none, then tell the people plainly at such an ordination, that a deed is doing, for which you find no warrant or example to read them from the Word of God.”—pp. 311, 312.

Again, in treating of Apostolical succession he writes thus.

“The Apostle Paul says, ‘Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel.’ How strangely Paul talks, cries the Priest of the Apostolical succession: ‘Sent me not to baptize!’ Why ‘the true economy of the Christian religion,’ says Bishop Brownell, ‘takes’ men ‘from the kingdom of Satan,’ and from ‘children of wrath’ it ‘transfers them *by baptism* into the family, household and kingdom of the Saviour!’ Paul sent not to baptize! Why, Christ sent *me* to baptize, cries the High Churchman: preaching is but a subordinate affair. And thereupon, Bishop Whittingham raises his voice: ‘Ministerial intervention for the forgiveness of sins, is the *essence* of the Priesthood.’

‘And hath given us the ministry of reconciliation,’ says the Apostle Paul. What, then, is the essence of that ministry? Baptisms? Confirmations? Sacraments? Priestly absolutions? Ministerial interventions? So says the Apostolical succession. But the Apostle Paul denies it. He talks not of the sacraments of reconciliation; but when he speaks of the ‘ministry of reconciliation,’ he adds, ‘And hath committed unto us the *word* of reconciliation.’ ‘So then,’ cries the Apostle Paul, ‘Faith cometh by *hearing*, and hearing by the *Word of God*.’ ‘Of his own will begat he us by the *Word of Truth*.’ Baptismal regeneration! Paul makes a distinction heaven-wide between.

baptism and regeneration: 'For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.' Circumcision (or baptism, its substitute) then is no part of the new creature, and does not, in this respect, avail 'anything.' In the account of Apostolical succession, however, baptism availeth everything: it takes the children of wrath and 'transfers' them into the kingdom of God.

The scheme of Paul makes nothing of priestly intervention, and much of faith: it makes very little indeed of any priestly prerogatives or interventions, in the matter of forgiveness of sins. Accordingly he says, 'Who then is Paul, or who is Apollos, but ministers *by whom ye believed?*' Who is Paul! Who? *Our* ministers are more than that: they are ministers by whose priestly interventions and valid sacraments ye were 'transferred from the kingdom of Satan, into the household, family and kingdom of Christ.' Who is Paul? who is Apollos?—*Our* ministers are somebody. They have received their commission from Bishops, who have received their commission from other Bishops, who have received theirs from others, clear back, till the authority comes at last directly from the Apostles.

Paul was an Apostle himself. His commission came through no dubious links of a dubious succession. He was not compelled to show a diploma of power received from a succession running back through monsters of iniquity all over blackened with lust and crimsoned with blood. He was an Apostle 'neither by man nor through man,' but by the direct calling of God. And yet Paul could say, 'so then neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase.' He cuts up the claims of High-Church Prelates by the roots, and throws them to the winds. He rejects the dogma on which they build their arrogant claims, and counts it another Gospel.

Such is the dogma of Apostolical succession *as a doctrine*: false, contradictory to the Scriptures, and subversive of the Gospel: the very opposite, and fundamentally opposite, to the scheme of salvation preached by the Apostles, and recorded in the Word of God.

Let us now test it by applying it to practice.

A man wishes to examine the grounds of his hope of personal acceptance with Christ.

The Bible says, 'Let a man examine himself.' 'Examine your own selves, *whether ye be in the faith*. Prove your own selves.' O no, says the Churchman;—not your 'own selves;'—not 'whether ye be in the *faith*;'—but examine the Diploma of your Priest: examine whether ye be *in the Church*; in the words of our Right Reverend Father in God, Bishop Hobart; 'Let it be thy *supreme care*, O my soul, to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of the Saviour, only from the hands of

those who derive their authority by *regular transmission* from Christ.' 'Where the Gospel is proclaimed, communion with the Church, by participation of its ordinances at the hands of an *authorized priesthood*, is the indispensable condition of salvation.'

It will not do, therefore, for the devotee of Prelacy to 'know nothing but Christ and him crucified.' The Gospel, alone, cannot afford him a valid promise of salvation. It is equally important for him to show something about 'the Church,' and the 'endless genealogies' of the 'succession.' The diploma of his priest is of equal consequence to him with the Gospel; since, if the pedigree of his priest is defective, he can have no more assurance of salvation than a heathen. And though it would appear somewhat ridiculous, for a Christian priest, when a poor sinner asks, 'What shall I do to be saved?' to hold up his spiritual pedigree for that sinner's examination; yet, to be consistent, he ought in all reason never to omit it. He should take the table of the genealogies, as officially published by the Tract Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, or by Chapin, and holding it up before the inquirer, he should say, 'Behold here, the security for salvation, through the Gospel preached and sacraments administered by me! See here, that sacraments administered by me are genuine. See how the succession runs: Valens, Dolchianus, Narcissus, Dius, Gordias, Narcissus again; Alexander, Mazabanes, Hymenæus, Zambdas,' 'Gurnel, Lendwith, Gornwist, Gorwan, Clendake, Eynynæn, Eludgæth, Elvaoth, Maelschewith,' and so on. Do you understand? These are links in the 'succession.' Through links like these, power has come down to Bishop Brownell, Bishop Onderdonk, Bishop McCoskry, and to Bishop Hughes. Through the hands of such a Bishop, the virtue has come down to me. If you have been baptized, and have received the Lord's Supper by my hands, or by the hands of some one like me validly ordained, and no special unbelief or wickedness hinders, you have become indeed and in truth a child of God. But if your minister was not of this succession, no matter how sincerely you may repent and believe the Gospel, the Gospel contains no covenant, or promise, or revealed provision, by which you may be saved. Examine, therefore, your Priest's spiritual pedigree; and as Bishop Hobart says, 'Let it be thy supreme care.' — pp. 373 — 375.

Mr. Hall may well say, as he does a few pages subsequently, "Do I seem to trifle? The trifling is not mine. I have done no more than to state in plain language, the doctrine of Apostolical succession in its application, — a doctrine which needs only to be stated in plain language, to appear ridiculously absurd."

It has been our purpose to give a general account of their plan and contents, rather than a critical notice of these works. If criticism consist in pointing out faults, the most friendly eye might occasionally find in each something to object to; and in each also there are some statements, inferences, Scriptural interpretations, etc. to which our theology and our ideas of the nature and powers of the Christian Church would lead us to take exception, — to qualify or dissent from them. It is not necessary to our present purpose, however, to dwell upon these points; nor shall we be considered as endorsing every word or sentiment contained in them, in commending these volumes to the study of all those, who would get a general knowledge of the history and principles of Congregationalism, its spirit and tendencies, as compared with those of Prelacy. To this end these books are well adapted, and much needed; for we cannot but think, that upon this subject a degree of ignorance, thoughtlessness and indifference prevails, especially among the young, altogether unsuited to the gravity of the questions at issue and the importance of the interests at stake.

Most of our readers are already so familiar with Dr. Lamson's Convention Sermon as not to need an analysis of its contents. "Father Taylor" says, he likes the Unitarians "because they walk large." This remark was brought to our minds on reading this discourse. Here are large thoughts, broad, expansive, elevating views of the spirit and purpose of the Christian religion, and the modes, the organization, by which it is to be administered, — a brief but comprehensive exposition of "the right, the historical significance and fruits, the spirit and essential tendencies" of Congregationalism, of which we were gratified to hear an Orthodox brother say, within an hour after its delivery, "it is one of the most able, interesting and important sermons preached before the Convention in the last twenty years."

It was our purpose at one time, to have given an extended analysis of Dr. Coit's book, and to have pointed out, with some minuteness, its unfairness, its misrepresentations, and the narrow and ungenerous spirit in which it appears to have been written. But our limits compel us to relinquish this design; and we are well satisfied to do so, because we find the work already done to our hands, in a thorough review of "A Churchman's Defence," written by

Hall and published as an appendix to his volume, to which we commend the reader's attention; and also, — because as a history of the period and the subject of which it treats, Dr. Coit's book is too incorrect and unfair, and, as a philosophical discussion of the questions at issue between Prelacy and Puritanism, it is too narrow in its spirit, too weak in its arguments, to demand a serious attempt at refutation. For ourselves, while we object to the principles of High Church Prelacy, whether of Rome or of England, and feel constrained to resist its encroachments, that we may "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free," we trust that we have ever done, and shall ever be disposed to do, justice to the characters of its advocates, both of past and present generations. We admit and believe them to be honest, sincere, conscientious and pious men; and in the devotedness with which they cling to their faith, the zeal with which they advocate it, the efforts and sacrifices they make in its behalf, we recognize attributes of the Christian character, which always command our reverence and admiration, whatever we may think of the cause in which they are displayed. But Dr. Coit, in relation to Puritanism at least, seems incapable of thus separating qualities of character from the cause in devotion to which these qualities are exhibited. His object seems to be, not so much to invalidate the principles of Puritanism as to blacken the character of the Puritans themselves, to impeach their motives and call in question their sincerity and piety. He can see nothing of the lofty religious enthusiasm, the high-souled devotion to truth, the self-sacrificing adherence to principle, the patience, the fortitude, the perseverance, the indomitable Christian energy, that distinguished the character of the Puritans. He can see nothing in them or their deeds to admire, or reverence, or respect; especially not, in the New England Pilgrims. To the question, "Did they abandon England *solely* or even *principally* on account of religious considerations?" his answer is "an immediate negative." The spirit of his book is to represent them as a set of factious persons, who veiled their selfishness and inordinate ambition under the garb of religion, who left England because they could not obtain ascendancy in Church and State, and who, in their retreat from Holland, "never

braved a billow" till they had driven "a favorable bargain with a company of merchants," and obtained a charter rivalling "in their construction of it the powers of Parliament,"—declarations as historically false in fact, as they are ungenerous in temper. We acknowledge that, on looking through the pages of Dr. Coit's book a few months since, we were at first disposed to prepare an indignant remonstrance against its unfounded assertions, its misrepresentations, and its unbecoming spirit. But all indignation subsided long before we had finished reading, and we closed the volume with a feeling of pity largely mingled with contempt,—pity for the author's (apparent) utter incapacity to comprehend the meaning, to enter into the spirit of one of the noblest chapters in Christian history,—contempt for his efforts to *make it mean* nothing but obstinacy, or money-making, or squabbles for political power.

As a vindication of the Puritans against the aspersions cast upon them,—the charges of fanaticism, bigotry, intolerance, persecution,—Dr. Hall's book is well deserving of an attentive perusal. From the brief but accurate survey of the facts of their history, presented in his volume, it is clear, that they were no fanatics either in politics or religion, no ambitious disturbers of the public peace, struggling for political pre-eminence, eager to promote discord and commotion, that they might attain power, and impose their own peculiar forms and opinions upon others. The civil war under Charles I. and all the consequences and excesses of that period of strife, were not the product of Puritanism, but the fruit of High Church despotism. It was not the Puritans alone who then opposed the monarch, but the men of all parties, who stood for the liberties of their country against an abject civil and spiritual bondage. These men gathered around the Puritans, as the well known advocates and staunch defenders of freedom, and thus made a party strong enough to overthrow for a time the monarchy and the Church. The Puritans sought not this issue, aimed not to bring it about; but when it came, they were ready to meet it, and to stand in the breach for the liberties of England and the freedom of Christ's disciples. But had the original demands of the Puritans been granted, this issue might have been avoided. "All that we crave," says Dr. Ames, as late as King James's time, in

his "English Puritanism," as quoted by Neal, — "All that we crave of his Majesty and the State is, that, with his and their permission, it may be lawful for us to worship God according to his revealed will; that we may not be *forced* to the observance of any human rites and ceremonies; *so long as it shall please the King and Parliament to maintain the hierarchy or prelacy in this kingdom, we are content that they enjoy their state and dignity*; and we will live as brethren among the ministers that acknowledge spiritual homage to the spiritual lordships, *paying them all temporal duties of tithes*, and joining with them in the service and worship of God, so far as we may without our own particular communicating in those human traditions which we judge unlawful. Only we pray that the prelates and their ecclesiastical officers may not be our judges; but that we may stand at the bar of the civil magistrate; and that if we shall be openly vilified and slandered, it may be lawful for us, without fear of punishment to justify ourselves before the world; and *then we shall think our lives and all we have too little to spend in the service of our king and country.*" Here is modesty, liberality, good sense, patriotism. No enlightened statesman, no American of any political party or any religious denomination, would undertake to maintain that there was anything unreasonable, extravagant or fanatical in these demands. They ask only for the liberty that all enjoy in this land; and let it never be forgotten that this liberty *is* enjoyed here, because the Puritans demanded it in England and *secured it here* by exile and sacrifice.

As to their intolerance, bigotry, persecution, we apprehend that every Churchman, Catholic or Episcopal, should remember the old proverb about "those that live in glass houses" before he heaps upon them these accusations. That the Puritans were superior to all the errors of their times, that they carried out without a single failure the true and lofty conceptions of religious liberty to which they attained and in principle avowed, we by no means claim. We admit that there are stains upon their character and history. But we contend that in the eye of a just and impartial judgment, these stains are like the dark spots upon the sun; they do little to diminish the glory that encircles their memory, the light that streams upon the world from

their example, their principles and their achievements. In weighing the charges brought against the Puritans, these things are to be considered. First, their errors were not their own peculiar, but the common errors of the times. Their intolerance and bigotry were not the result, but the failure, and under the circumstances the not surprising and the pardonable failure, of their principles, whereas the intolerance of the Romanist and the Puseyite Episcopalian is the result of their principles. The principles of the Puritans ultimately led them, and will lead all who embrace them, to a free toleration and an enlarged liberality. The principles of the Romanist and the Puseyite Episcopalian necessarily lead, and have led all who firmly adhere to them, to an intolerant and bigoted administration of religion — to narrow and unworthy conceptions of God's mercy and the Gospel scheme of salvation. Secondly, when thoroughly examined and sifted, many of the instances of persecution charged against the Puritans will be found to be not so much the persecution of religious opinions, as the punishment of disturbances of the public peace, violations of the order and decency and decorum that should reign in every community. It was not for the religious opinions they held, but for the gross, outrageous and indecent acts they committed, that many of the Quakers were punished. Thirdly, a large minority of the magistrates and the people always lamented and opposed these persecutions. Some of the most unhappy measures of religious intolerance to be found in the early annals of the New England colonies, were determined upon and executed by very small majorities; while regret and sorrow filled the hearts and indignant remonstrances broke from the lips of a large minority, who opposed these measures, and were keenly alive to the inconsistency of such measures with the principles and purposes for which they had sought a religious asylum in this Western world. Fourthly, the evil was brief. The principles of the Puritans soon worked themselves clear of the intolerance and bigotry learned in the school of Prelacy. We claim, for the Puritans of New England that which, with a single exception,\* we believe

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\* The Colony of Maryland. It is to be considered, however, that the toleration, established in this colony at its commencement, originated with a single individual, the Proprietary, Lord Baltimore; and was the



ecclesiastical history does not permit to be claimed by any other body of men associated in a political and religious capacity, — namely, the glory of having freely granted a toleration and religious freedom which they had the power to withhold. When Episcopacy first showed itself in an organized form in the New England colonies, and undertook to build churches and sustain ministers, the Puritan Congregationalists were an overwhelming majority. They had an absolute and controlling power in the premises. Theirs was the established religion, — certainly in the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies. Episcopacy was then “dissent” from the form of religion established and supported by law, as it is now “dissent” from the popular and prevailing forms. Yet in a short time, by the free grant of an overwhelming Congregational majority, Episco-

result, partly of his benevolent disposition and large religious ideas, and in part also, undoubtedly, of a wise commercial policy. He wished to encourage emigration, that the grant of his Sovereign might soon become profitable to himself and his heirs. To every emigrant, therefore, he assigned fifty acres of land in absolute fee, and allowed a general recognition of Christianity under all forms and by all sects; thus securing what was one of his great objects — an asylum for Catholics, and at the same time greatly promoting his own interests, the rapid growth and prosperity of his colony. The “Act concerning religion,” passed by the Assembly of Maryland in 1649, was the result of his wishes and influence, rather than of the principles of the Roman Catholic Church working themselves out in the minds of the people. There is a wide difference, therefore, we conceive, between the case of the Maryland colony and those of New England. The latter had no desire to encourage promiscuous emigration; they would rather have prevented it. They had no large individual Proprietary, whose interests were to be promoted, and whose influence was controlling. Their toleration, therefore, though it came more tardily, with halting steps and many mistakes, was the result of principles gradually developing their influence in the minds of the people. We desire to add, that we have no disposition to detract from the just praise of Catholic toleration in Maryland. It is one of the brightest spots in the history of the Catholic Church, and its overthrow, we may add, one of the darkest in the history of English Episcopacy in America. “The suspension of the proprietary government,” says Grahame, (Vol. ii. p. 56,) “was accompanied with a notable departure from the principles in which its administration was previously conducted. The political equality of religious sects was disallowed, and the toleration that had been extended to every form of Christian worship was abolished. The Church of England was declared to be the established ecclesiastical constitution of the State; and an act passed in the year 1692 having divided the several counties into parishes, a legal maintenance was assigned to a minister of this Communion in any one of these parishes. The appointment of the ministers was vested in the governor, and the management of parochial affairs in vestries elected by the Protestant inhabitants.” Within a few years various prohibitory laws against the Catholics were passed. Here was ingratitude added to persecution.

pallians were exempted from taxation for the support of Congregational worship, and permitted to tax themselves for the maintenance of a minister of the Church of England, to which they conformed. This was done in Connecticut about four years after the first Episcopal society was formed, which was in 1723. It was also done at an early period in Massachusetts; and a like freedom granted to the Quakers, the Baptists, and other sects dissenting from the prevailing Congregationalism; so that long before the Revolution, the Puritan Congregationalists of these colonies had, while an overwhelming majority, and as a legitimate deduction from their principles, imparted and secured to every man within their borders, "the right of an entire freedom to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience."

To those who charge intolerance and bigotry upon Puritanism, we present this fact, the legitimate result of its principles, and, as compared with Prelacy, the only principles from which it is a legitimate result. Can Prelacy point to a similar fact in its history? Does the Episcopalian find any glory of this sort attaching to the Church of England, which to this hour receives tithes of all Dissenters and bears them down by disabilities as numerous as they are vexatious and oppressive? Nay! does he find it attaching to American Episcopacy, where and so long as it had power? Will not the early religious history of the Episcopal colonies of New York and Virginia make him silent upon the subject of the intolerance and bigotry of New England Congregationalism? Can he find in any of the acts and edicts of the latter aught that savors more of these qualities than some of the acts and edicts of the former? Can he discover in the *fabulous* Blue Laws of Connecticut anything worse than the old law of the Virginia colony, that "every person should go to church on Sundays and Holy Days, or lie neck and heels that night and be a slave to the colony the following week,"—be a slave for a month on the second offence, and for a year and a day on the third? Was not the Virginia law of 1642, forbidding any other than an Episcopal minister to officiate in the colony, more intolerant than anything of the same date to be found in the records of the New England colonies? In describing the condition of this colony in

1688, Grahame says, (Vol. i. p. 140), "The doctrines and rites of the Church of England were established by law; attendance upon divine worship in the parochial churches, and participation in the sacraments of the Church were enjoined under heavy penalties; the preaching of dissenters, and participation in the rites and worship of dissenting congregations, were prohibited, and subjected to various degrees of punishment." These prohibitory laws were never, that we have been able to ascertain, formally repealed, though they were not always rigidly enforced. It is a fact, however, that but little more than thirty years have elapsed since there died in the city of New York a celebrated Presbyterian clergyman, who in the early part of his life was forbidden to preach in Virginia "under penalty of £500, and a year's imprisonment without bail or mainprize;"\* so that close up to the time of the Revolution Presbyterianism was under the ban of the law in the Episcopal colony of Virginia. Does American Prelacy appear to greater advantage in the religious history of the Episcopal colony of New York? For nearly a century after their first religious society was organized in New York, the Presbyterians were compelled, in addition to their contributions for the maintenance of their own administration of the Gospel, to pay their quota towards the support of the Episcopal Church, upon which the Government was already lavishing those benefactions that laid the foundations of the present enormous property of Trinity Church. The first Presbyterian house of worship was erected in New York in 1719, partly by contributions received from Connecticut and Scotland. "The direct and strenuous efforts of the vestry of Trinity church defeated their repeated applications for a charter."† So uncertain was the tenure of their property, that for its better security the title was vested in the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. For more than fifty years after the erection of the building, the worshippers, through Episcopal influence and opposition, were refused a charter and deprived of a legal tenure of their property. They never in fact received one from the

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\* Miller's Life of John Rodgers, quoted by Hall.

† Hall's Puritans and their Principles, p. 404.

colonial government, or from royal grant. In 1774-5, they appealed to the throne with a complaint of their embarrassments, and a petition for a redress of their grievances. A charter was granted in England, but withheld "on this side of the water" by the influence that had hitherto opposed and prevented the grant; \* so that up to the very hour of the Revolution, which wrenched the sceptre from its grasp, Prelacy in New York imposed disabilities and embarrassments upon those who did not conform to it. So long as it had the power, it was, not only spiritually and in doctrinal theory, but legally and practically intolerant. How does this compare with Puritan Congregationalism, which for nearly a century previous had granted and secured to every citizen in every colony of New England an entire freedom to worship God according to his conscience?

We have no desire to retort railing for railing, or to make either the Prelatists or the Congregationalists of the present day responsible for the sins of their fathers. But when we find the early history of American Prelacy so completely overlooked, as it often is; when we hear the Puritans reproached, as though the only exhibitions of intolerance and bigotry, the only instances of religious persecution that disgrace the Christian annals of this country, were confined to them, and this too, sometimes by degenerate sons of the Puritans, who owe the very liberty through which they now profess Roman, or English Episcopacy, or whatever else they choose, to the principles and sacrifices of their fathers — we confess to a strong feeling of indignation at the gross injustice done to men, who were large benefactors to mankind, and as noble specimens of the Christian character, in its most lofty and venerable attributes, as the world has ever seen. For ourselves, while we endeavor to cherish the spirit of the Apostle, when he said, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ," we yet do glory in being descended from the Puritan Fathers of New England. Next to being a Christian, we glory in being a Congregational Christian. We glory in those great principles upon which the early Congregational churches of New England were planted.

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\* Hall, p. 405.

We maintain that these principles lead to an enlightened and conservative theology, having its foundation and authority in Scripture, neither exclusive and bigoted on the one hand, nor radical and disorganizing on the other. We maintain that they lead to an elevated, practical, fervent piety, alike removed from the superstitious mummary of the ritualist, from the coldness and formality of the moral philosopher, and from the dreamy mysticism of the transcendentalist.

We believe that these principles, their importance and value, should in every way be urged upon the consideration of the community. The religious aspect of the times indicates the development and constant growth of two opposite tendencies, both of which are suited to mislead the young and unreflecting, and to operate injuriously upon the progress of truth and the religious character of the coming generations. One is the rationalistic tendency, which exalts the soul above the Bible, and holds in slight esteem the facts and foundations of faith as contained in the latter; the other is the hierarchical tendency, which exalts the Church above both the Bible and the soul, and which, while it claims to reverence Scripture, insists that its authority is insufficient, that as a guide to the individual it is inadequate, that the traditions, authority and decisions of the Church are needed in addition, that to them the conscience of the individual must be submitted, and through and from them the individual receive his faith. Congregationalism opposes both these tendencies. Its great idea is that which lies at the bottom of the Protestant Reformation, — the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a guide to faith and practice, with a recognition of the right of private judgment. It receives the Bible as the foundation and guide of faith, — the Bible not as addressed to the Church, but to the individual; its teachings to be interpreted by the individual mind, to be received into the individual heart, to be carried out in the individual life, as the understanding and conscience of the individual may determine. Congregationalism, therefore, neither exalts the soul above the Bible, thus inducing it, in the spirit of a proud and self-relying philosophy, to cry out, "I can do all things of myself," — as though man by his unaided reason could unravel all the mysteries of Providence, of his own being and destiny, and legitimate

a pure and satisfactory religion, one that amidst the perplexities of life and the fearful solemnities of death should give him all that he needs of guidance, strength and peace; nor, on the other hand, does it subject the Bible and the soul to the Church, and thus seal up the former, and induce the latter, in a spirit of slavish subserviency and disregard of its own powers and responsibilities, to say, "I can of myself do nothing; but as the Church, whose office it is to judge and interpret, teaches and decrees, I believe and obey," — as if man as an individual were utterly impotent and ignorant, and the Church, which is but an association of individuals, were omnipotent and infallible. But it holds the Bible and the soul to be, as it were, complements of each other, like the two parts of a cleft rock, which fit into one another, and when united form a harmonious and perfect whole. The soul has wants, and the Bible meets them. The soul asks questions, and the Bible, and that only, authoritatively answers them. Set aside or destroy that authority, and these questions cannot be answered to the soul's satisfaction and peace. The soul has aspirations and hopes, and the Bible confirms and exalts them. Overthrow the Bible, and these hopes have no fixed foundation, no sure resting-place. Congregationalism directs man, not to his own soul as sufficient, not to the Church as the authorized and infallible interpreter of Scripture, but to the Bible as the word of God's revealed will, and to his own soul as the recipient and interpreter of its instructions. It thus avoids both the evil tendencies to which we have alluded, and enables the soul to cry out, "I can do all things," not through myself, not through the Church, but (in the language of the Apostle,) "through Christ strengthening me;" — through the powers and faculties of my own soul, directed and aided by the instructions of the Bible, enlightened and sanctified by the grace and truth that are by Jesus Christ, I can accomplish the great moral purposes of life — can work out my own salvation with fear and trembling.

It is because Congregationalism in its principles, spirit and organization opposes both these tendencies, that we desire to see its friends steadfast in maintaining, zealous in extending it. In this country these tendencies are dangerous, and are both aggravated by circumstances growing out of our political position. The rationalistic tendency finds

an element of success in the independence, the pride of intellect and the self-sufficiency, the want of reverence, the desire to throw off restraint, and to "try something new," which are naturally engendered by our popular institutions, and which can only be checked and counterbalanced by that to which we have not yet attained, the thorough education and enlightenment of the whole people. The universal but limited education of this country, — universal in its privileges, limited in its extent — gives to multitudes just knowledge enough to cause them to wander out of the path, to awaken self-conceit without inspiring humility, to root out from their minds many of the tares of error, but to disturb at the same time the seeds of truth, and to make them disposed to approve a system, which, like the rationalistic, exalts almost without limit the powers of human reason, and flatters the soul with the idea that it is absolute and sufficient in itself, having in its intuitions and prerogatives the source and the criterion of all truth. From the same cause, the hierarchical tendency finds an element of success among those, in whom that love of stability, that desire of something permanent and unchangeable to cleave to, which is inherent in the human mind, has become the controlling influence. This desire finds little or nothing to gratify it — on the contrary, much to baffle and discourage it — in our political institutions. In respect to government, laws, policy, and all civil and social arrangements, we seem to be afloat upon a wide sea of adventure and experiment, ever attempting something new, never admitting or permitting anything to be fixed and permanent. Amid these fluctuations and changes, this uncertainty and instability of every thing around them, many, who have but a weak trust in Providence, and no confidence in humanity, naturally turn to the hierarchical as the most stable, quiet and stationary form of faith. They must have something of this kind to which they can cling, on which they can rest, and they can find it nowhere but in the Church which says, "Thus far and no farther; what was settled and determined by the early fathers and the Councils of olden time is never to be altered." This, we apprehend, is, in part at least, the philosophical explanation to be given of the strong tendency towards Prelacy, which, it must be admitted, has of late years manifested itself in this country.

Both these tendencies are dangerous in this country; the one leading the way to that unbelief, and consequent irreligion and corruption of morals, in which the best interests of society must of necessity find their grave; the other leading to that spiritual despotism, within whose atmosphere civil liberty cannot long breathe. The universal prevalence of this latter tendency in our country would introduce among us just the worst condition of society to be conceived of, namely, the union of a civil democracy with a despotic and arbitrary religious organization. Fortunately the two cannot long subsist together. They who have become submissive tools in their religious capacity, as immortal and accountable beings, are prepared and deserve to become slaves in their civil capacity, as men and as citizens. A Pope, or a hierarchy, infallible or supreme in religious matters by divine right and the grace of Apostolical succession, and a free republic in civil matters,—these are too incongruous things for any long union and harmony between them.

We do not say, for we do not believe, that the Prelatists of the Roman or English school aim at undue power, or that they desire or mean to bring in here the evils and abuses of former times and other countries. But the question to be determined is, not what they desire or mean, but what is the natural tendency of their principles and their system of church polity. That tendency, we contend, is to usurp dominion over thought and conscience, to crush, not develop the individual mind and heart, to produce not a just reverence, but a slavish subjection to the past, to prevent that free action of the individual mind, by which the progress of the community in religious knowledge and its better application to life and character are promoted.

This tendency is checked, and, in the judgment of many, will be completely neutralized, by the influence of our civil institutions, and the growing intelligence and the love of freedom which these institutions foster in the people. Undoubtedly we may hope much from this source. Prelacy is, and long will be, a different thing here, from what it is at Rome or Canterbury. But is it impossible for it to become here what it is there? Is not religion stronger than any other influence that bears upon the community or the individual? Has not the vindication of the rights of conscience



led the way to the recognition of the rights of man? Has not the assertion of religious freedom been the pioneer in the attainment of civil liberty? And may not this process be reversed? May not a free people be subjugated through their religious faith and forms, and civil liberty be lost through spiritual vassalage? And this by a progress so gradual, by steps so imperceptible, that apprehension and struggle come too late, if they come at all? He reads not aright the civil or religious history of mankind, who denies this. Is it well then to rely upon the restraining influence of civil institutions, where the religious influence they are to restrain has proved itself again and again to be the strongest? Is it well to encourage principles and a religious organization, that need to be checked and restrained in order to prevent the disastrous results they would otherwise produce? Is it it not better for every man, in determining the ecclesiastical principles and organization to which he will give his support, to select those which do not need to be checked and restrained, which are simple, free, in harmony with the spirit and forms of our civil institutions, giving scope to the individual pursuit of truth, of easy adaptation to its general progress, and from which nothing unfavorable to the liberties or happiness of mankind need be apprehended? We put this question especially to those "sons of Pilgrim sires," those baptized children of Puritan Congregationalism, who—some of them we fear, thoughtlessly, without due consideration, or the influence of any weighty or sufficient motive—have deserted the faith and organization of their fathers, and become the staunch adherents and zealous advocates of that Prelacy, whose persecutions were the cause of their fathers' exile, sufferings and sacrifices, and which, had there not been this Western world to flee to, would have tolled the knell of expiring liberty in the Church of Christ, and riveted the iron grasp of its power upon the consciences of mankind.

It is this tendency of a religious system and organization, that is especially to be regarded,—the general results it would produce in the course of time, upon coming generations, when carried out, unchecked and unrestrained by counteracting circumstances; and not its particular results in individual instances. We can find good men, devout men, learned, wise, liberal, pious men, true and worthy

disciples of Jesus, under all systems and among all sects from the Catholic to the most ultra-Protestant. This does not prove that it is no matter what men believe, or what ecclesiastical organization prevails among them. One of the heroes of our Revolution was a *Quaker*, till the impulses of an ardent patriotism and the exigencies of his country made him a *General*. This does not prove that Quakerism is warlike and pugnacious; neither does the fact that Washington and Jay were Episcopalians, prove that Prelacy is an inspirer of liberty and the friend of republican institutions, though the argument has been used in one of "the Church" tracts. So Charles Carroll was a Catholic, but this does not establish the liberal spirit and the liberalizing tendency of the Roman hierarchy. Carroll was more of an American than a Catholic, and Washington more of a Christian than an Episcopalian. The tendency of Prelacy is not liberal. The legitimate results of its principles, fully carried out, would not be freedom, truth, progress, the advancement of mankind in religious knowledge and a living faith; but a stationary servitude, a subjection to the forms and the creeds of a dead past. The tendencies of Congregationalism are liberal; the legitimate results of its principles are freedom, truth, progress. It has its element of stability and permanence, not in creeds and canons and ritual, but in the Bible—the word of God; it has its element of progress, in the better understanding, the clearer interpretation of those sacred records. Congregationalism plants itself upon the Bible, the recorded declaration of the Divine will, the recorded evidence of the Divine interposition, the recorded exhibition of the Divine wisdom and goodness and love, the great foundation and source of religious truth; with no rival authority in any man or body of men, in any ecclesiastical or civil rulers, in any traditions from a remote age, which may perchance be correct, or may have originated in fraud or superstition. Here is something that will stand; a principle that cannot be moved; the rock on which Congregationalism builds the Church of Christ. This holy volume Congregationalism opens and offers to all—bids each eye see what it can, each mind gather what it can, each age develop whatever new and noble idea it can find in the immortal page. Congregationalism admits that all the high conceptions, all the lofty

thoughts, all the sublime knowledge on religious subjects, which we are capable of receiving or that word of imparting, may not burst upon us at once,—that truth may be continually breaking from that living, eternal word, in a clearer light, a more beautiful form. Here is its element of progress. It is stable and permanent, for it stands upon the Bible. It is fruitful and progressive, for by the application of reason and thought and meditation, the faithful and humble use of our powers, it bids us gather from the Bible the materials of that structure of divine truth, which faith must erect as the home of our souls, wherein are garnered our best affections and our spirits are educated for the heaven to which our hopes aspire.

We have illustrated one of the great principles of Congregationalism, the basis on which its church members come together. It was our purpose to speak of the other great principle, the independence but mutual sympathy of the separate churches, and say a word on the position and duties of Congregationalists at this present time, particularly in reference to that portion of the Congregational Communion to which we belong. But our limits require that this purpose be deferred to another number. s. k. l.

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#### ART. IX.—DANGERS AND DUTIES OF YOUNG MEN.\*

THE volumes named below are all written with one aim, and, while they have their separate styles and dwell upon

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2. *Duties of Young Men.* By Rev. E. H. CHAPIN. Revised edition. Boston: G. W. Briggs. 1846. 12mo. pp. 267.
3. *Letters to Young Men, founded on the History of Joseph.* By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Albany. 1845. 12mo. pp. 203.
4. *Counsels addressed to Young Women, Young Men, Young Persons in Married Life, and Young Parents. Delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church, Washington City, on the Evenings of the Sabbaths in April, 1846.* By MATTHEW HALE SMITH. With an Introduction by the Hon. John Quincy Adams. Washington. 1846. 8vo. pp. 116.
5. *Lectures to Young Men on Various Important Subjects.* By HENRY WARD BEECHER, Indianapolis, Indiana. Salem and Cincinnati. 1846. 12mo. pp. 251.

different topics, they are all suited to make a deep impression, and to exert a salutary influence. One fact has particularly impressed us,—that, written as they are by clergymen of various denominations, they are free from cant and have nothing about them of a strictly denominational character. As far as these books are concerned, the writers form one brotherhood. They, for the most part, speak in that manly spirit which may call forth a response in every heart. Is not this among the peculiarities of the times? Religious books are not written in that cold, dry, and technical phraseology, which was their characteristic at a former day. They have more of the freshness and glow of life. They are made to harmonize more fully with good sense and the natural feelings of the heart. We rejoice at this, because we believe that such writings will do vastly more good. They will not be pushed aside with indifference or thrown down in disgust. They have a tone of cheerfulness and truth, which arrests the attention; they have a naturalness and earnestness, which command respect; they have an adaptation, which fastens them upon the memory; they appeal so directly to human experience, that they carry conviction to the heart: and thus we believe they will be far more useful, than the books which were formerly run into a frigid party mould, and sprinkled plentifully with familiar texts of Scripture; which enforced the dogmas of particular sects; and which had as little, apparently, to do with real life and the heart's best affections, as the mountains of Norway with the mildness and beauty of spring.

Another reason why we rejoice to see such books coming from the midst of different denominations is, that it shows a growing conviction of the noble and expansive character of Christianity. The religion of Jesus cannot be bound down to the technicalities of party. When it would address the intellect of the country, it must speak in a free and natural manner. The very thought of bringing religion before our young men seems to liberate the spirit. A higher and a manlier tone is heard, and we behold the truth stated in such a manner that enlightened reason can weigh it, and accept it with joy. This age needs such an expression of religious truth. A skepticism and an immorality are abroad, which make it imperative upon every

friend of God and humanity to do the utmost that may be in his power. And if society is to be renovated, it must be, in part, by calling forth purer affections and higher motives among our young men; and if our young men are to be reached, it must be by a rational and earnest appeal. Christianity must come forth in her divine beauty, and speak in a clear and cheerful tone; she must walk with a firm foot over the earth, and show how closely her principles are connected with the practical details of daily life and the highest well-being of man.

Each of the books we have named can be recommended, as free at least from everything narrow and sectarian. They each pass through a wide circle of topics, and, generally, with a large and generous spirit. The contents of Mr. Livermore's book was first given as Sunday evening Lectures, at the request of the young men of Keene, and the volume is marked somewhat, as the writer states in his preface, by "circumstances of time and place, and local wants and views." Still it dwells upon those moral exposures and obligations of early manhood which are more or less common to all, and will, no doubt, be found both interesting and profitable to a far wider circle than that for which it was first prepared. The Lectures are written with such honest frankness that the reader can never be at a loss to understand the meaning. Not satisfied with commonplace generalities, the writer seizes upon the actual evils of the present day, and goes into such an exact statement that one must consider with self-application, and feel the full force of every statement made. The pages are not covered with showy declamation or dazzling figures of rhetoric, but are evidently written to be useful, and are therefore simple and direct. Yet they are by no means deficient either in force or beauty, and have, not unfrequently, and without any false striving for effect, a genuine originality of expression.

We will give a few brief passages which may serve as illustrations of the general style. In speaking of the dizzy round of corrupting pleasures, he says:—

"The world is not so barren of beauty and of bliss, that we must, to recreate our spirits, drink of the foul sediment of corrupt pleasure. When every sunbeam is winged with glory, and every snow-flake drops down as if it were a benediction

from the skies; when, in our daily walks, so much of gladness meets us at every turn; when, even in our labors of hand and head, there is often mingled so much of still, steady happiness; when, in our homes, the air is so full of love and enjoyment; when, in music, in books, in innocent sports and games, in the walk, the ride, the social festivity, such ample and various means are provided for all reasonable exhilaration, who would, in his better moments, wish to plunge into the giddy whirl of fashionable dissipation?" — p. 50.

As a specimen of the directness with which portions are written, we give the following: —

"A young man cannot learn too early, that the easy swagger, the flippant speech, the ready oath, the cigar puffed in the face of the town, the glass tossed off among admiring associates, are no marks of real dignity, but that they lower him in the respect of others, as much as they do in fact in his own." — p. 81.

In speaking of profaneness he says: —

"Such a custom is no mark of a gentleman, any more than it is of a Christian. It is as far from good manners as it is from good morals. It brands a man at once, in the eyes of all good judges, as low-bred and vulgar, though he may wear broad-cloth and gold. The first profane lisp reveals his want of true politeness as much as of correct principle." — p. 25.

Among the examples of plain speaking, we would refer to the chapter on the pernicious effects of the use of tobacco, which both laymen and clergymen would do well to consider. The testimony of such men as Rush, Franklin, Boerhaave, Woodward, Darwin, Chapman, and many others, is given. The following is the testimony of John Quincy Adams. This venerable statesman in a recent letter says, that in early life he used tobacco, but for more than thirty years he has discontinued the practice.

"I have often wished," says he, "that every individual of the human race, affected with this artificial passion, would prevail upon himself to try, but for three months, the experiment which I have made, and am sure that it would turn every acre of tobacco land into a wheat field, and add five years to the average of human life." — p. 60.

Mr. Livermore thus goes faithfully through the list of moral dangers and duties upon which young men may be profitably advised, and gives plain counsels to which we trust many will listen.

Mr. Chapin's book is more particularly upon the *duties* of young men, which he considers under the head of "social duties," "duties as citizens," "intellectual duties," and "moral duties." This is a revised edition, and the author states that the style of the first edition was florid and redundant, and that he would gladly have broken up the very mould and recast the whole work, and thus have given us more mature thought in a more sober style. After such a statement by the writer himself, criticism is disarmed. The volume is full of excellent suggestions, the general arrangement is good, and the spirit of the book is pure and elevating. It holds up a high standard, and is evidently written by one who feels all that he says. As a specimen of the work we extract the following: —

"Do not underrate your influence, or idly suppose that you have no influence at all. The mass is made up of individuals. You are one of that mass. *Your* acts, *your* thoughts, *your* words, help create that diffusive leaven which forms its character, and is called public sentiment. But if you have influence upon one individual only, that fact is enough to make it your solemn and binding duty to see to it that your influence is pure and correct,—that not a particle of the evil which may come upon society, shall proceed directly or indirectly from you. Talk not to me, then, of insignificance and limited influence. When I behold deep-flowing rivers, made up of drops that have fallen, one by one, away back among the mountains and in the narrow recesses of the rock; when I see broad and lofty forests that have arisen from little seeds which the birds of the air have scattered and the hunter has trampled into the soil; when I see the avalanche that started from the summit a little mass that a child could have turned aside, thundering on and sweeping all before it; — when I see results like these, I say, I am incredulous as to the inefficacy of small and obscure causes." — p. 62.

"There is no man that lives in society whose influence is entirely negative, or who has no influence at all. Let us not mistake ourselves. Let us not form the idea that we are more insignificant than we really are." — p. 60.

Dr. Sprague's book is written in the form of letters, and is founded on the history of Joseph. It commences with an outline of this Scripture history, and then divides itself into three parts, — "sources of danger to young men," "character to which young men should aspire," and "the rewards that crown a virtuous course." The whole

is written in a clear, simple manner, and is pervaded by sound reason and good sense. There is no exaggeration of statement, but all is calm and dispassionate. They are such letters as a father might write to his son. There is little excitement for the imagination, but much wholesome counsel for the judgment. The style is sober and dignified, and yet natural; it may perhaps be the more useful for not being overwrought. The views of the author in undertaking the work are thus stated in the first letter:—

"The growing conviction which I have had for years of the importance of those interests which are soon to be devolved upon the young men of the present generation, has, at different times, brought me almost to the determination of addressing to them a short series of letters, designed to impress them with a sense of their obligations, and to aid in the general formation of their character. I have, however, been deterred from executing, or even forming, a definite purpose on this subject, by the consideration that many wise and excellent men have already written books of counsel to the young, to which they can readily gain access; and that any attempt which I might make, would result in nothing better than a repetition of things which had often been more attractively and more impressively said before. It occurred to me, however, lately, as I was reading the touching and beautiful story of Joseph, that there is much in it that deserves the most attentive consideration, especially of every young man; and in this thought originated the purpose, which I have now set myself to execute, of endeavoring to render this scripture narrative subservient to the best interests of the young men of the present day. Still, my young friends, I have no expectation of offering anything to your consideration that is substantially new: the utmost that I can hope is, that I may give increasing effect to the counsels which I shall suggest, by incorporating them with a story, which, in respect to the interest of its incidents and the beauty of its descriptions, is universally acknowledged to be unrivalled even in the sacred Scriptures." —p. 30.

These Letters by Dr. Sprague we would cheerfully recommend as containing most excellent suggestions both for old and young.

The only thing remarkable about the slight volume by Mr. Smith is, that it has an "Introduction" by President Adams. This is in fact a brief letter of twenty lines, addressed to Mr. Smith, which he has here blazoned forth so as to give the impression that it is an "Intro-



tion"! This will answer the purpose of procuring a sale for the book, which it could not have gained by any merit of its own. These sermons, in many respects, will not compare with those written in the general course of ministerial duty. And yet the writer ostentatiously tells us that they were delivered before the most "distinguished" persons. They are upon common-place topics, which have been a thousand times treated; yet the writer states that "he has not been able to obtain help on these subjects, and has been compelled in a great measure to open the path in which he has travelled."!

He is specially severe upon dancing. As a specimen of his liberality in this respect, he exclaims, "Dancing is open to such objection that no female can, with propriety, engage in it. It has always done mischief, from the day John the Baptist by it lost his head, to the present hour." Dwelling in the midst of slavery, where the clank of the chain is heard even at the door of the capitol, he says not one word upon that monstrous wrong. Delivering these Lectures at Washington while the country was commencing an unjust and iniquitous war,—this he considered too small an evil to be noticed. But dancing calls forth his indignant reproof. He very solemnly gives the following statement upon this head:—

"Let me illustrate: A young lady, of great personal beauty and very accomplished, was at a fashionable watering-place during the summer. A gentleman, now one high in the service of the United States, was attracted by her appearance and accomplishments, and invited her to join him in the dance. She very politely, but positively, declined. He repeated the request soon after, and again she declined. He very civilly asked the reason. 'Sir,' said she, 'I am a Christian.'" — p. 35.

To show the character of the illustrations which he brings before his "intelligent and crowded auditories," we quote the following:—

"A young woman of great personal beauty had an indulgent parent. No expense had been spared to place at her disposal whatever accomplishment she chose. Her mind only was deformed; her temper was tart; her spirit uncontrolled; though no one took more pains than herself to induce all to believe that she was the most amiable of her sex. Sitting by herself one day in the library, she felt a hand laid lightly upon her shoulder:

Presuming that it was her father, she exclaimed, 'Go away, you old plague; I wish you would let me alone!' As she looked up, she saw the face of a gentleman whose good opinion she was anxious to secure. Blushing deeply, she exclaimed, 'Pray excuse my rudeness, sir; I thought it was pa!'" — p. 13.

He states the following in such a manner that few, probably, would have the hardihood to deny its truth: —

"The wife, who appears in the presence of her husband, or at his table, in a slatternly dress — with hair uncombed, half-washed, and slip-shod — and does so on the ground that no one is to be present but her husband, gives occasion for less regard."

He even ventures to add; "It would not be marvellous if his opinion of her taste, tenderness and affection, should be somewhat modified or reduced." — p. 77.

In his counsels to young men he briefly sums up the following rules: —

"Make your toilet for the day; then commend yourself to God by prayer and the reading of his word. Go early to church. Lounge not around the door, nor stand in the passage, nor upon the steps. You would not do so at the house of a gentleman; you should not do so at the house of God. Never wear your hat in the house of God; you would not do so in the presence of ladies." — p. 59.

As an example of the manner in which he at times works up a passage and brings it to a powerful climax, take this.

"The fame of Rogers makes us feel certain that any outlery that bears his name is what it professes to be. The same is true of the compass of one European house, or the telescope of another. Be not a genius. Select some one pursuit, and then follow it diligently — pursue it with all your soul. Be the best of your class; if you are a boot-black, be the best one in the country." — p. 46.

Though passages of a similar character abound through the book, yet its counsels generally, well-followed, would do good. As for the ability of the work, intellectually considered, it cannot be said to rank above mediocrity. It has constant repetition, and is often marked by flippancy and conceit.

We wish that Mr. Adams could himself be induced to publish a series of letters to the young men of America. Who could do it so eloquently? Whose words would command such profound respect?

The volume by Henry Ward Beecher is full of spirit and fire. Its sketches are as graphic as life; they are dashed off with a masterly freedom. Byron, in his famous line upon the poet Crabbe, calls him

"Nature's sternest painter, yet the best;"

And Beecher is in prose what Crabbe was in poetry. He works with his pen, as Retzch does with his pencil. His thoughts blaze up like rockets. His rebukes strike like cannon-balls. There is no escaping him. His chapters are headed as follows:—"Industry and idleness." "Twelve causes of dishonesty." "Six warnings." "The portrait gallery." "Gamblers and gambling." "The strange woman." "Popular amusements." Under these heads the writer goes to his subject with the utmost fearlessness. There is no circumlocution, no paring away. If good old Saxon words can speak the thought, it is spoken; and if any one wishes to see what Saxon words *can* say, he may find it here. Fearful as are his pictures of mature depravity, the following will show his feelings in regard to childhood:—

"The heart of youth is a wide prairie. Over it hang the clouds of heaven to water it, the sun throws its broad sheets of light upon it, to wake its life; out of its bosom spring, the long season through, flowers of a hundred names and hues, twining together their lovely forms, wafting to each other a grateful odor and nodding each to each in the summer-breeze. Oh! such would man be, did he hold that purity of heart which God gave him."—p. 213.

But he dwells not upon generalities. He seizes upon the sins of society. His account of gambling, as practised in the Western States, is boldly given, and the evils are drawn with terrible vivacity. In reference to the libertine, and the poor creatures who are the victims of his iniquity, we subjoin this sketch.

"Look out upon that fallen creature whose gay sally through the streets calls out the significant laugh of bad men, the pity of good men, and the horror of the pure. Was not her cradle as pure as ever a loved infant pressed? Love soothed its cries. Sisters watched its peaceful sleep, and a mother pressed it fondly to her bosom! Had you afterwards, when spring-flowers covered the earth, and every gale was odor and every sound was music, seen her, fairer than the lily or the violet, searching

them, would you not have said, 'sooner shall the rose grow poisonous than she; both may wither, but neither corrupt'? And how often, at evening, did she clasp her tiny hands in prayer? How often did she put the wonder-raising questions to her mother, of God, and heaven, and the dead, — as if she had seen heavenly things in a vision! As young womanhood advanced, and these foreshadowed graces ripened to the bud and burst into bloom, health glowed in her cheek, love looked from her eye, and purity was an atmosphere around her. Alas! she forsook the guide of her youth. Faint thoughts of evil, like a far-off cloud which the sunset gilds, came first; nor does the rosy sunset blush deeper along the heaven, than her cheek, at the first thought of evil. Now, ah! mother, and thou guiding elder sister, could you have seen the lurking spirit embosomed in that cloud, a holy prayer might have broken the spell, a tear have washed its stain! Alas! they saw it not; she spoke it not; she was forsaking 'the guide of her youth.' She thinketh no more of heaven. She breatheth no more prayers. She hath no more penitential tears to shed; until, after a long life, she drops the bitter tear upon the cheek of despair, — then her only suitor. 'Thou hast forsaken the covenant of thy God.' Go down! fall never to rise! Hell opens to be thy home!

Oh Prince of torment! if thou hast transforming power, give some relief to this once innocent child, whom another has corrupted! Let thy deepest damnation seize him who brought her hither! Let his coronation be upon the very mount of torment! and the rain of fiery hail be his salutation! He shall be crowned with thorns poisoned and anguish-bearing; and every woe beat upon him, and every wave of hell roll over the first risings of baffled hope. Thy guilty thoughts, and guilty deeds, shall flit after thee with bows which never break, and quivers forever emptying but never exhausted! If Satan hath one dart more poisoned than another; if there be one hideous spirit more unrelenting than others; they shall be *thine*, most execrable wretch! who led her to 'forsake the guide of her youth and to abandon the covenant of her God.' " — pp. 186, 187.

There are multitudes in our land who might well feel smitten by such a passage as this; for conscience would whisper to their hearts, telling them of their own guilt, and making them feel that if there is one sin more than another which is the source of most hideous woe, it is this. How many a fair spirit has been thus polluted! And how wide-spread are the monstrous abominations connected with this wickedness! Could the curtain be uplifted which conceals this vice, how many would start back in amazement, how many would be overwhelmed with anguish.

As another specimen of Mr. Beecher's style, we open his Lectures at random, and take the following : —

"I may here, as well as anywhere, impart the secret of *good* and *bad* luck. There are men, who supposing Providence to have an implacable spite against them, bemoan in the poverty of a wretched old age the misfortunes of their lives. Luck forever ran against them, and for others. One, with a good profession, lost his luck in the river, where he idled away his time a fishing, when he should have been in the office. Another, with a good trade, perpetually burnt up his luck by his hot temper, which provoked his employers to leave him. Another, with a lucrative business, lost his luck by amazing diligence at everything but his business. Another, who steadily followed his trade, as steadily followed his bottle. Another, who was honest and constant to his work, erred by perpetual misjudgments ; — he lacked discretion. Hundreds lose their luck by endorsing ; by sanguine speculations ; by trusting fraudulent men ; and by dishonest gains. A man never has good luck who has a bad wife. I never knew an early-rising, hard-working, prudent man, careful of his earnings and strictly honest, who complained of bad luck. A good character, good habits and iron industry, are impregnable to the assaults of all the ill luck that fools ever dreamed of. But when I see a tatterdemalion, creeping out of a grocery late in the forenoon, with his hands stuck into his pockets, the rim of his hat turned up, and the crown knocked in, I know he has had bad luck, — for the worst of all luck, is to be a sluggard, a knave, or a tippler." — p. 30.

In the chapter entitled, "the Portrait Gallery," are descriptions of the wit, the humorist, the cynic, the politician, and the demagogue. So also we are taken to the house of evil, where we see five wards, — pleasure, satiety, discovery, disease, and death. Under all these heads are passages, which can hardly be perused without leaving a deep impression upon the mind. There are sentences in the volume, which might be considered by some persons to be in bad taste, but the writer has evidently sought to speak truly and not fritter away the meaning by the use of inadequate terms. He holds his pen with a steady hand and writes with honest fidelity. If his style is deficient in repose, it lacks not energy, and it has a life and spirit which arrest the attention and hurry one along, as by a spell, through its earnest appeals, and sharp delineations, and graphic picturings. We doubt not this volume has already done much good and is destined to do much more.

We have now noticed five books which have been recently published, all of which are addressed to young men. This may seem at first a greater number than can be needed, but when we think of the multitude who are coming forward upon the active stage of life, when we remember the temptations and trials which await them, when also we call to mind the incalculable importance, both to themselves and others, of their having right views and principles, we should rejoice that so many stand ready to give worthy counsel. And never, never was there more urgent occasion for doing all that is possible to awaken the young men of our land to a high sense of duty. If we consider our country in connexion with its rapid growth and increasing prosperity, we shall see the necessity of right principles. If we look upon our country in its present position, and notice the selfish and wicked passions which are at work ; if we remember how willing our Government has been to plunge itself into the atrocities of war, calling for millions of money to carry on the work of carnage, and sending forth invitations to all sections of the Union to aid in the monstrous iniquity ; if we see how indifferent the public mind is to this evil, and how the spirit of war seems still to rule in the human heart,—we must become in some measure sensible to the low state of public sentiment in regard to the first principles of Christianity. Ponder the detestable opinions which prevail in regard to military affairs. How few speak as if war was opposed to the direct injunctions of the Gospel. Who believes in the principles of Christian forbearance and love? How popular are military parades, and how ready is the imagination to be dazzled by the glitter of a showy costume, and utterly fascinated and carried away by the gaudy trappings of war ! There is an antichristian spirit still active in the public mind, something quite at variance with the mild, loving, forbearing spirit of Jesus. In order to rectify this, we need the strength of our young men. They must come with a manly courage to the rescue of Christian principles. They should feel that the spirit of war is the spirit of Heathenism, and be willing to take a high and honorable stand. There needs to be a wide-spread revolution upon this subject, and Christianity can never exert its due influence until this be effected.

When we look at another evil in our land, with its many abominations, and see how it is extending its fearful influence, we feel that the public mind should be strengthened and enlightened by Christian principle. The enormities of slavery are bringing this country to a crisis. Before the present generation shall have passed away, momentous changes must take place. Who will deny, that in reference to this it is of the utmost importance to have right views fixed in the minds of the young men of America? Upon their fidelity the future destinies of this land must in a great measure depend.

There is yet another evil, which is increasing, and which demands attention. It may be a difficult thing upon which to speak or to act, but who can consider it and not feel that something should be done? The vice of licentiousness is one upon which many persons feel that they should be dumb; and yet society by it is corrupted, and the festering evil is eating away the very heart of our land. The statistics upon this subject are alarming. Those who have investigated the real condition of things, state that the extent of this vice is almost beyond conception, and is increasing. What shall be done? Can we stand idle? Are infamous houses to remain thickly scattered through our cities? Shall our young men be left to sink deeper and deeper into this horrible iniquity? Is nothing judicious except silence? And is there wisdom in nothing save utter inaction? We are sensible of the difficulties surrounding this subject, but we ask for it thought. Certainly our young men, the vigor and strength of our land, may be spoken to. How many among them would stand aghast at this evil, and be willing to exert themselves to the utmost to remove it.

There are other subjects upon which we might dwell, but we have already occupied more space than we intended. We would, in bringing these remarks to a close, call upon young men to devote themselves to every work of good, — to be decided in their allegiance to virtue, — to feel that in every walk of life they may be the fearless advocates of right, and the faithful and uncompromising witnesses of truth. There is no one so void of influence as not to be able to accomplish something. His daily life, his consistent conduct, his earnest speech will not be without their effect.

We would add one word on another point. If there be those who are now engaged in study and who are doubtful to what profession they shall dedicate their powers, we would ask them to consider well the Christian ministry. We need here more, earnest, faithful minds. There is a vast work to be accomplished. And there is no labor more delightful and satisfactory to a true spirit. The diffusion of truth and the redemption of man may well inspire the loftiest powers, and give new energy to a soul desirous of not living wholly in vain. It is also an interesting thought, that all the studies and duties connected with the labors of a minister of the Gospel are of an elevating nature. No one will doubt the truth of a remark by Dr. Arnold, recorded in Stanley's interesting memoir of him. In speaking of the Christian minister, he says, — "The very studies which would most tend to make him a good and wise man, do therefore of necessity tend to make him a good clergyman." And Coleridge in his "*Biographia Literaria*" says, "The Church presents to every man of learning and genius a profession, in which he may cherish a rational hope of being able to unite the widest schemes of literary utility with the strictest performance of professional duties." In addition to this, we might speak of the peculiar opportunities which the minister constantly enjoys of accomplishing good. We trust that many of our young men of promise and of power will be ready to consecrate themselves to the cause of the Gospel.

But all men may be ministers in their separate spheres. They may, by their fidelity and general excellence, exemplify the principles of justice and truth. And certainly if ever there was a period in the history of the world when every man should be faithful to duty, this is the time.

R. C. W.

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#### ART. X. — JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

"BLESSED are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born



of the Spirit is spirit." "I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father but by me."—These words of Jesus express with clearness the essence of what he taught concerning justification by faith,—the doctrine which tells us, that vital holiness nourished in the stillness of a convinced heart, and revealed in thoughts and deeds of universal love, renders man acceptable as the child of God. The sermon on the Mount contains a few general applications of this principle, which is comprehensively stated in the simple and beautiful formula:—"Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God."

Christianity, like every purely religious system, takes for granted three facts;—a world in need of regeneration; a consciousness, in the world, of this need; and a spiritual nature in man, which, degraded as it may now be, has in itself, of its own free will and energy, the capacity of receiving and appropriating all the influences which the system can bring to bear upon it. A religion that does not assume these three facts, is wanting in a definite object to be accomplished, in the means by which alone such an object can be accomplished, or in both.

At the time when Jesus Christ appeared, the soul of the human race had passed through many centuries of sin. By constant practice of iniquity its vision had become dimmed, its original energy weakened. The need of a Redeemer is demonstrated by the history of that darkest of all ages, the age preceding Christ. Humanity could not rise unaided; for all its life was derived from a polluted world, that was itself panting for the quickening breath of God. On whatever theory we may explain this degradation in man, it was in view of its actual existence that Christ, the Redeemer, was sent to infuse a new, divine spirit into the race, that it might be restored to its Father. This Redeemer men must acknowledge; for through him alone is the way to God opened, by him alone is the divine life transmitted. "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life." But belief, however necessary, is not faith; but rather the instrument used by faith, the ladder upon which the angels of God descend upon the slumbering spirit: while faith is the inward power by which the spirit, roused to action by various motives, draws within itself the influences that come from

God through Christ, — through his teachings and sufferings, his holy life and death ; the influences which quicken the higher nature, redeem and sanctify the whole character of man.

The necessity that the inward holiness thus acquired should express itself in deeds of outward beneficence, shows us the relation between this doctrine of justification, and those other words of Jesus, — “They that have done good shall inherit the resurrection of life.” We are thus led naturally to the true doctrine of justification by faith. Man, conscious of his alienation from God, by a powerful effort of faith, which, based upon belief, demands supernatural aid, fixes his trust on Christ as the commissioned of the Father, the only Redeemer and spiritual Regenerator of humanity. This brief analysis brings us back to the living formula of Jesus, — “Blessed are the pure in heart ; for they shall see God.”

Having touched upon the leading points in our Saviour’s teachings, let us now trace the same doctrine through a different line of development. The truth which Jesus the Christ uttered with little method or logical arrangement, Paul the Apostle analyzed and proved. The Apostle to the Gentiles, reasoning chiefly against Jews, explained his fundamental principle upon the Jewish ground. “Law” and “righteousness” are, therefore, the central terms from which our exposition of his system must proceed. The word “righteousness,” in the Jewish sense, denoted that peculiar state of thought, feeling and spiritual culture, which theocratic institutions would naturally produce. And “law” denoted that externally prescribed rule of action, whether ritual or moral, by obeying which a Jew became righteous. Paul employs the word to express the essential spirit of Judaism, a system which presented religion as something outward and preceptive, instead of something inward and spontaneous. This view Paul, as a Jew and a Pharisee, held until his conversion, after which time he mightily set forth the doctrine, that the new birth was from within, outward, not from without, inward. For law, the outward command, he substituted faith, the inward principle, and consequently gave a more spiritual meaning to “righteousness” and “justification.” The Jewish idea was inconsistent with itself, and false, as Paul says in his

Epistle to the Galatians. "If there had been a law given which could have given life, verily, righteousness should have been by the law." If any outward command could impart the internal life of the heart, from which all goodness must spontaneously proceed, then it would be reasonable to talk of righteousness proceeding from obedience to law. Yet even then, the righteousness would not be wrought by the law, for the external presupposes the internal. There can be no true obedience except it spring from the inward spiritual life, which lies behind all law.

Paul by no means disparages the law in its proper sphere, as written on the hearts of Gentiles or in the books of Jews. On the contrary, he calls it "holy" and "good." He only denies that men can obey it without having spiritual life. To explain this, we must penetrate a little deeper into his doctrine, commencing with man's need of redemption. This need, which Jesus silently presupposed, Paul attempts to account for by the old Hebrew tradition of Adam. He draws the parallel between Adam and Christ; the death-bringer, and the life-bringer. As by one sin, and the consequent growth and supremacy of the sinful tendency, humanity was driven down into death; so, by one holy life, and the consequent renewal of the spiritual tendency, it was raised from the dead. Adam had broken the union between man and God; he had relied upon himself. Man's lower nature was thus strengthened against the higher. By the law that regulates the propagation of races, evil produced evil, and sin ever darkened godliness as mankind grew up. The spiritual energy of the race and the motives to its exertion constantly lost power as the force of evil desires accumulated, and the occasional desperate reactions of an individual or a generation were too feeble to resist the pressure of sin. The evil seed planted by Adam grew into a deadly tree, which darkened the earth; humanity was freezing under its shade.

But Paul nowhere says that human nature is essentially depraved; or that any particular man is unavoidably sinful, except in the sense that he who is born into a world grown old in iniquity, can scarcely escape taint. The tendencies and impulses of the whole race had been corrupted and perverted by the increasing supremacy of the sinful principle, but not so that the original nature of man, as the

offspring of God and created in his image, had been destroyed. This idea of natural depravity he contradicts often enough. The assertion of it would reduce to an utter absurdity and mockery his, and any other religious system. His whole doctrine hangs upon the assumption, that man's nature is essentially the same divine creation that first came from the hand of God. Even in the frightful corruption he describes in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, he presupposes an undeniable and partially illuminating knowledge of God in human nature, which may be wholly restored, and has been so restored by Christ.

In accordance with this general view of Adam's sin, the work of the life-bringing Redeemer Paul considers as twofold,—upon humanity, and upon each individual:—the first wrought by God, objectively upon the race, through Christ; the second wrought by man, subjectively upon himself, through faith in Christ. The entire work was accomplished by the life, truth, spirit and devoted suffering of Jesus, and by his death as the crowning suffering and act of consecration of his life. He checked the progress of the evil principle which had alienated the whole race from God; introduced a new current of life, and restored men to a condition in which they could exert faith and return to their Father. This first work, which was wrought ideally, was performed independently of any effort on the part of man.

Upon this universal foundation each individual must build up his own salvation. In this connexion Paul introduces the word, faith. Faith, as contrasted with law, is the ruling, fundamental principle of the Christian character. It supposes a supernatural revelation, and belief in him by whom it was brought. The need of this belief Paul insists upon constantly, sometimes under various forms of allegory. Faith supposes also a consciousness of sin. This Paul assumes as a universal fact, and in support of it he adduces his own spiritual experience, and appeals to that of others. By faith the soul draws into itself a new principle of life, which is constantly penetrating and transforming the old nature. By faith the spirit of the Christian is bound to Christ's; filled with his deep peace; nerved by his strengthening power; illuminated and blessed with his love. Carrying out with fervid logic this glorious thought, Paul

saw the mystical union with Christ ideally completed in every Christian, when he exclaimed, "How shall we who are dead to sin, live any longer therein?" It is an utter, vile contradiction, to say that the Christian, the man who has bound himself to Christ by the ties of a living faith, can be tampering with the devil at the same time. "What communion hath light with darkness?" "What concord hath Christ with Belial?"

Thus, according to Paul, man is justified by faith in Christ, and enjoys once more the harmony which Adam had broken. And thus, through the rapid, laboring utterances of the Apostle, we may trace the quiet words of Jesus, "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." Paul has adopted the formula of Christ; analyzed it; connected it with the ancient tradition; illustrated it by the Jewish patriarchs and by his own sacred experience, and rendered it back to us sanctified and precious as ever.

It has been always a question, whether James does not contradict or undervalue this doctrine of faith. Before attempting therefore to reconcile completely Paul's doctrine of faith with James's doctrine of works, it must be observed, that Paul nowhere in his writings undervalues those good works that result from a genuine faith. Neither does James cast any reproach upon the living faith of the heart, as passages in his Epistle will testify. On the contrary, he is insisting upon the constant manifestation of that very faith.

Paul, unfolding the essential principle of all religion, uses the word "faith" in its highest sense, to denote the living power, by which the free spirit appropriates the divine life. James, whose real doctrine was precisely the same with Paul's, but who was arguing against men who had lost sight of the essential principle of religion, uses the word sometimes in their sense of belief, which is the instrument of faith. In the view of Paul, works of love have no merit apart from the faith that suggests them. A man is accepted according to what he is, not according to what he does. In the view of James, works of love, although in themselves useless, do nevertheless presuppose living faith, without which they could not exist. So that "works" must be insisted upon as the only evidence of faith. "Show me thy faith without thy works (if thou canst;) and I will show thee my faith by my works."

The only difference between Paul and James, beyond a mere difference in statement, lies in this. Paul would say, "faith necessarily gives birth to works of love, but all that seem to us works of love do not of necessity presuppose faith." James would say, "faith necessarily gives birth to works of love, and works of love do of necessity presuppose faith." Both maintain that a man is accepted according to what he is, not according to what he does; but James holds, that what a man does is a fair index of what he is.

In their general reasoning, Paul is contending for the living cause, the devoted heart, in contrast with a bald, outward observance of rules and proprieties. James is contending for the effects, the deeds of mercy, the necessary results of a living cause, in contrast with a barren belief which took the name of faith without any of its reality. To these two points of view the writers were led partly by difference in temperament and outward circumstances, and partly by the different development of their Christian life. James was not reasoning against the misunderstanding or the abuse of Paul's doctrine, much less against the doctrine itself. He was fixing the mark of infidelity upon the practical heathenism and shallow belief of his generation.

Christ, Paul, James, — the divinely commissioned Bearer, the profound theologian, the practical moralist, of Christianity. Christ teaches the free, spontaneous growth of the Christian life, inward and outward, from the inward to the outward, as effect and cause imply each other. Paul teaches the supreme worth of the inward cause, without which there can be no effect. James teaches the absolute necessity of the effect, without which there can be no cause. Each of these Apostles analyzes one side of the doctrine more particularly, while both find their centre and full meaning in Christ. And once again we hear the simple, grand formula of Jesus, — "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God."

Justification by faith, — the great Christian doctrine of religious progress and spiritual liberty, — it tells us that through the coil and fret of life the soul can see its God, can approach him by high resolve and steady endeavor. And yet, this doctrine, which lies at the very foundation of our religion, has been misapprehended and cried down by all prominent parties among Christians, in every age. The

Romanist, by making faith supernatural and subordinate to charity, which was also a supernatural quality, by defining it as mere assent to God's truth, destroyed its vitality; made that which is free from all restraint of men a mere appendage to his own ritual service; buried it under the shrine of the Virgin. The great reformer, employing a word which he did not define, and wrapping his doctrine in the dark metaphysics of Augustine, preached a "justification by faith," which, powerful as it was against Romanism when it rolled out from the impetuous heart of Luther, became barren and inconsistent in the formulas of his disciples. And now, a few men in the mother-land and in New England, but lately contending with their foes for an existence, and even at this moment contending among themselves for a title, men just peering out of their strong-hold to measure the field around them, constitute the only body in Christendom that understands and preaches this doctrine of Christ. God grant, that this body, welded together in the faith and love of that Christ, may carry abroad his doctrine of life, with kindly and patient hearts, with frank and fearless spirits; never faltering before wrong, never cringing before arrogance, until the spirit of Jesus the Redeemer shall have regenerated mankind. O. B. F.

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ART. XI.—YOUNG'S CHRONICLES.\*

WE think Mr. Young has done a good work, for which he is well fitted by his taste and acquirements, in presenting to the lovers of our early history this collection of documents, penned originally by those who drew the furrows and scattered the seed of our noble Commonwealth here in the wilderness. The book throughout affords ample proof of the hearty love of his subject, which prompted the editor to his task; as the notes give evidence of the learning, with which he has illustrated the several topics which are included in the range of his plan.

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\* *Chronicles of the first Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636. Now first collected from original records and contemporaneous manuscripts, and illustrated with Notes.* By ALEXANDER YOUNG. Boston: Little & Brown. 1846. 8vo. pp. 571.

The volume, which bears on its front a good engraving from Vandyke's portrait of Governor Winthrop, with a countenance and garb indicating gentle breeding, consists of twenty-four different documents, which Mr. Young has chosen to arrange as so many chapters in his book. Our taste, we confess, does not readily approve this method. It is affecting a unity which does not in fact exist.

The volume commences with a chapter extracted from "The Planter's Plea," and a chapter from Hubbard's History. The Planter's Plea was printed in London in 1630, and has generally been ascribed to Rev. John White of Dorchester, commonly called in his day Patriarch White; giving "a manifestation of the causes moving such as have lately undertaken a Plantation in N. England." The object kept in view by the author, or authors, of the narration, (for the opening sentence in the work would lead one to conclude that it was either the joint production of various hands, or else that it was put together by some one in behalf of several,) is to lay a "faithful and impartial narration of the first occasions, beginning, and progress of the whole work, before the eyes of all that desire to receive satisfaction, by such as have been privy to the very first conceiving and contriving of this project of planting this colony." It is evident, from this contemporaneous account of the inception of the Massachusetts settlement, that several attempts had previously been made to colonize this part of the North American coast, all of which had failed. Springing from views of interest, to facilitate trade, these attempts came quickly to nought. It was not appointed in Providence to the "western merchants" of England, — who had in their eye nothing more than "a trade of fishing for cod and bartering for furs in these parts," — it was not appointed to them to colonize New England. They were competent, with such views, to dig bait, and pilot their craft across the ocean, and throw the line for cod; they might have nerve enough to let their vessel return without them, and to see the door shut against their egress from the wilderness, if their sojourn here were to be only for one year or for a single season. But this was not the stuff that Commonwealths are made of. There would have been no New England, if it had rested with codfish and Bristol traders.



Nothing but a far-seeing, profound Christian faith could furnish sufficient foundation for such an enterprise and achievement. To have turned their backs for life upon "dear England" — "the lady of the sea," as old Camden, the learned, pleasantly styles her — was no easy matter for men and women that had inhaled her wholesome air, and tilled her garden-soil, and had sweet homes nestling in her green nooks. With what hooks of steel would a natural and commendable pride of country fasten their hearts to their native land! Its very stones were diamonds in their eyes. Its deeds and achievements were most famous. They could all understand the feeling, with which a contemporary writer, in an ecstasy of national pride, exclaims, "Good Lord, how spaciouly might a learned pen walk in this argument!"

Chapter third in Mr. Young's work consists of the "Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." This will probably be looked upon, and with reason, as the most valuable document in the volume. The records are "now for the first time printed from the original manuscript in the archives of the Commonwealth."

From chapter fourth to chapter tenth inclusive, we have a series of documents which are intimately connected with the Records of the Company just remarked upon, and therefore rightly placed by the editor. They are Cradock's Letter to Endicott; The Company's First and Second Letters of Instructions to Endicott; The Form of Government for the Colony; The Allotment of the Lands; The Oaths of Office for the Governor and Council; and the Company's Agreement with the Ministers.

It is a curious feature in the Instructions to Endicott, that the Company forbid the culture of tobacco, devil's weed, as the loyal subjects of King James regarded it, and as it in reality is. "We especially desire you to take care that no tobacco be planted by any of the new planters under your government, unless it be some small quantity for mere necessity, and for physic, for preservation of their healths; and that the same be taken privately by ancient men, and none others." If only those should make use of tobacco, who could plead "mere necessity," or the "preservation of their healths," the company of those, of the

masculine and feminine gender, who puff, snuff, chew and spit, would be very perceptibly diminished.

In their Instructions, the Company show themselves disposed to treat the "Old Planters," so called, with great fairness and generosity. But little is known with certainty respecting these "Old Planters." Mr. Young remarks in a note, "The Planters in Massachusetts Bay at this time were Mr. Blackstone at Shawmut (Boston); Thomas Walford at Mishawum (Charlestown); Samuel Maverick at Noddle's Island (East Boston); and David Thompson at Thompson's Island near Dorchester. How or when they came there, is not known."

With regard to Thompson, it is known when he came to this island, as will appear in the following extract, which we had occasion some years since to copy from the Colony Records in the State archives:—

"10th 3d month 1648. — Forasmuch as it appears to this court upon the petition of Mr. John Thomson, son and heir of David Thomson deceased, that the said David in or about the year 1626, did take actual possession of an Island in the Massachusetts Bay, called Thomson's Island, and being then vacuum domicilium, and before the Patent granted to us of the Massachusetts Bay, and did erect there the form of an habitation, and dying soon after, leaving the petitioner an infant, who so soon as he came to age, did make his claim formerly and now again, by his said petition. This Court, considering the premises, and not willing to deprive any of their lawful right, and possession, or to permit any prejudice to come to the petitioner in the time of his nonage, do hereby grant the said Island, called Thomson's Island, to the said John Thomson and his heirs forever, to belong to this jurisdiction, and to be under the government and laws thereof."

Chapters eleventh and twelfth consist of Higginson's Journal of his Voyage to New England, and Higginson's "New England's Plantation." Of the last mentioned of these works three editions appeared in the course of a single year. Higginson was one of those whom Dudley charges with dealing in "too large commendations of the country and the commodities thereof." "Honest men, who, out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here." He does bepraise everything. Even the climate is perfect in his estimation. "For here is an extraordinary clear and dry

air, that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholy, phlegmatic, rheumatic temper of body." Of all complaints under the moon, to prescribe "a sup of New England's air" for *rheumatism*! For our part we can, on a blue spring day, with the wind east, fancy we hear Prospero directing Ariel or some other of "the powers of the air":

"Go charge my goblins that they grind their joints  
With dry convulsions; shorten up their sinews  
With aged cramps; and more pinch-spotted make them  
Than pard or cat o' mountain."

"And whereas," continues Higginson, "before time I clothe myself with double clothes and thick waistcoats to keep me warm, even in the 'summer time' I do now go as thin clad as any, only wearing a light stuff cassock upon my shirt, and stuff breeches of one thickness without linings." Very conceivable all this; for he wrote from July to September. And if he had been here in August, 1846, this blessed year, he might have stood equipped like him whom old Camden says somebody "painted for an Englishman, a proper fellow naked, with a pair of tailor's sheares in one hand, and a piece of cloth on his arm, with these rimes:

'I am an Englishman, and naked I stand here,  
Musing in my mind what garments I shall weare;  
For now I will weare this, and now I will weare that,  
Now I will weare, I cannot tell what.'

This exaggeration in the conceptions and descriptions of many of the writers of that period of English literature, is to our minds quite an interesting feature. That exquisite creation of Shakspeare, the *Tempest*, was the product, in a master's hand, of the same exaggeration with regard to the new-found countries of the West, that discovers itself, in a humbler way, in such writers as Higginson. We, in these days of short and easy intercourse between the two continents by means of steam-spiced ships, when everything here is taking the shape and hue of an Old World standard, can have little conception of the strength, vividness, intoxication of feeling, produced in those who came to the New World, or who read by their firesides of those who adventured into these romantic regions. Such prosaic

lumps of earth as Dudley might not indeed understand these illusions. But all who had, in the slightest degree, the element of poetry in their souls, were bewitched out of their propriety.

The scene of Shakspeare's *Tempest*, which was probably written in 1612 or thereabouts, and which, we think, ought to be read as a perfect illustration of the state of mind accompanying and consequent upon the discovery of America and attempts to colonize it, is generally supposed to be laid in the Bermuda Isles, which were discovered in his time, and from which shipwrecked mariners brought back to England strange and fearful accounts. But we are slow to pronounce as confidently as some as to the scene of the *Tempest*. The narrative of Sir George Somers and his companions, on their return from their shipwreck, would doubtless interest an imagination like Shakspeare's. But this was only one among numerous similar events, all exciting the same sentiment of wonder. The West was all a region of marvels and magic. Every vessel that returned from the *new found land*, brought its tale of "sea-sorrow," or its descriptions of countries, vegetable productions, races of men and animals, that were devoured by a credulous curiosity. He, whose genius could despatch an Ariel

" ——— to fetch dew

From the still-vexed Bermoothes,"

would never lack obedient ministers to run or swim or fly on the errands of his imagination, and to bring back tidings from the vast region of adventure in the West. "Come unto these yellow sands," was the sweet charm that drew all the imaginative spirits of that age across the deep to strange shores. There, — beyond the influence of a corrupt state of society, — in the wilderness, the pure-minded philosophers of the age, like the "noble Neapolitan Gonzalo," placed the seat of their imaginary Commonwealths, which were to be governed with such perfection, "to excel the golden age." There, away from conventional modes of feeling and language, the poet pictured the scene between Ferdinand and Miranda, and under a clear sky, on a soil teeming with new flowers and fruits, called upon the spirits that preside over the air, the earth and the waters, to assemble, with their joint influences on the heart,

" A contract of true love to celebrate."

There, especially, was the fancied birth-place and residence of such monsters as Caliban, which is generally regarded as one of the master-pieces of Shakspeare's art. The vulgar curiosity which prevailed in England in that age with regard to the native inhabitants of the New World, is well hit off in the language put in the mouth of Trinculo, when he encounters Caliban, — "Were I in England now, (as once I was), and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver: there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man: when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian." We see in Caliban the leading characteristics of the savage aborigines of America. With all his deformities he is a poetical character. His conceptions and the language put in his mouth are poetical. He comes in close contact with the lovely and grand forms of nature, and receives deep and suitable impressions from them. In the first period of his acquaintance with the civilized man he loves him, serves him patiently, receives gladly from him instruction, and repays the obligation by showing him "all the qualities of the isle." In course of time he drops his love of his superior, and retains only dread of him. He frets that his inheritance is taken from him, and curses the being whose superhuman intelligence, aided by spirits which he has under his control, has made him a slave. He comes in contact, too, with the vices of civilized life. He receives the fatal gift of the intoxicating draught. He is exhilarated by it, and fancies the gift and the giver have "dropped from heaven." He makes a god of the drunken butler, worships him, and forms a plan for the destruction of his former master. We repeat, that the *Tempest* of Shakspeare deserves to be studied as illustrating the thoughts and feelings that influenced men's minds in the age when America was settled by European civilization.

The next chapter in the *Chronicles of Massachusetts* is entitled "General Considerations for the Plantation in New England; with an Answer to several Objections"; which Mr. Savage ascribes to Governor Winthrop. Then follows the Agreement at Cambridge, so called, made August 26, 1629, signed by Saltonstall, Winthrop, Johnson, Dudley and others; in which they bind themselves to be ready in

their persons and with such of their several families as are to go with them, to embark for the Plantation of New England by the first of March ensuing: "Provided always," — and this was a pregnant provision, — "that before the last of September next, the whole Government, together with the patent for the said Plantation, be first, by an order of court, legally transferred, and established to remain with us and others which shall inhabit upon the said Plantation."

The Company's Letters to Higginson and Endicott are followed in Mr. Young's collection by the well known "Humble Request," signed by Winthrop and others, and addressed "to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England." This has often been quoted, and for strong natural feeling, beautifully and touchingly expressed, it deserves frequent quotation. "We esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom and sucked it from her breast." All this is tender in sentiment, simple, natural and beautiful in language. But it ought, we think, in justice to the Pilgrim settlers of the old Plymouth Colony to be remembered, that they were in advance of their neighbors of the Bay, and they ought to have all the honor that may arise from this circumstance awarded to them. The historians tell us that they were Separatists in principle, while the Massachusetts colonists were only Non-conformists. But all who came into the wilderness must be in fact Separatists, as they soon found. Their churches here must be independent. Their circumstances obliged them to adopt, what the minds of the bolder thinkers among the Puritans suggested and prompted to previously, — a distinct church polity of their own. We would not accuse the colonists of the Bay of directly joining in the vulgar abuse bestowed on the Plymouth colony on account of their separating boldly and avowedly from the Church of England. But they felt the pressure, doubtless, of the current prejudice against that colony. They would fain save themselves from the jealousies, political as well as religious,

of which their future neighbors were the objects. They were at the first timidly cautious not to identify themselves with the Separatists of Plymouth. The followers of the catholic Robinson are entitled to the honor, which was in their day a reproach, of first publishing and acting on the principle of separation from the corrupt and arrogant Church of England.

Chapter seventeenth consists of Deputy Governor Dudley's well-known Letter to the Countess of Lincoln; and next in order we have the Memoir of Captain Roger Clap. This is curious and instructive, as coming from a person in the humbler walks of life, one who had had, probably, little or no education, except what he had acquired indirectly from sitting under the pulpit instructions of learned, pious, and zealous Christian ministers. It proves that the men and women of that rank in life among the Puritan colonists of New England had learned how to think to some practical purpose. They had opinions of their own, convictions deep, sincere, earnest, on all the great subjects that concern man's life and well-being in this world and in the world to come. They were intelligent themselves, and knew how to express themselves intelligibly to others. Such persons prove to us, better than most others, the power of religion, when it takes strong hold of human nature, to elevate the whole mind and character, to excite in its possessor a just self-respect, to impart to life a solemn interest, to open the resources of the soul, to furnish an inward and never failing supply of motive, and to change the occasional good impressions and the virtuous impulses and motions that spontaneously visit all minds, into what the Christian Scriptures term, with so much beauty and significance, "the everlasting life" in the soul. Instead of an occasional virtue or grace springing up like the green blade that starts from seed cast in soil where there is no depth of earth, there is given to the soul by religion an inward fountain, and on its margin is perpetual verdure. There is a perennial life imparted by faith to the conscience. "The water" that religion gives to a man, "is in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life." "Bread," says the homely Memoir of Roger Clap, "was so very scarce, that sometimes I thought the very crusts of my father's table would have been very sweet unto me.

And when I could have meal and water and salt boiled together, it was so good, who could wish better?" And again he says, "God's holy spirit in those days was pleased to accompany the word with such efficacy upon the hearts of many, that our hearts were taken off from Old England and set upon heaven. The discourse not only of the aged, but of the youth also, was not, 'How shall we go to England?' (though some few did not only so discourse, but also went back again,) but 'How shall we go to heaven?'" It was such convictions and motives, and not codfish adventures and calculations of mercantile profit and loss, that settled New England, and made the "wilderness blossom."

This same Roger Clap, it appears, was Captain of "the Castle." "The history of the Castle," says Mr. Young, in an interesting note, "from its commencement to the present time, deserves to be recorded." As early as 1634, it seems, the first settlers of Massachusetts saw good, for their common defence, to fortify an island three miles from Boston. "At first they built a castle with mud walls, which stood divers years." We find from the old Records, that on the 30th of 7th month, 1639, "there was granted to Thomas Foster, the gunner at the Castle Island, a great lot at the Mount (i. e. Mount Wollaston, afterwards Braintree, now Quincy) for three heads." In the Dutch war, during the anxiety occasioned by the report, in July, 1665, that De Ruyter, with a squadron of ships, intended to visit the Bay, the "battery was repaired, wherein are seven good guns." Just at this time, the "worthy, renowned Captain Richard Davenport" was struck dead at his post by lightning. "Upon which the General Court, in August 10th following, appointed another captain, in the room of him that was slain." And we doubt not that, if De Ruyter had paid his threatened visit to the Bay, that other captain, our Captain Roger, would have made the "seven good guns" of the castle talk loud and strong English to the Dutchman. To one who visits the island now, and examines the costly and durable fortifications which the general government, with millions at their command, are erecting, there is food for thought, and he may chew the cud of fancy, as he contrasts the magnificent works of the America of to-day with the rude and simple defences of



two centuries back. We hope, with Mr. Young, that when the works now in progress on the island are completed, the ancient name of "the Castle" will be restored.

Next in order comes an extract from the Charlestown Records, which, we think, might, without any great loss, have been omitted. The Record is allowed by the editor not to be "a contemporaneous document, but a digest from early papers and tradition." Judging from the blunders it contains, the man who made the *digest*, must have swallowed his facts with a voracious credulity that interfered with the digestion. All that it contains worth preserving might as well, we think, have been given by Mr. Young in notes.

Chapter twentieth contains an extract from William Wood's "New England's Prospect." Nothing seems to be known of this writer, except what he tells us of himself. It appears from his own account, that he had resided in the country four years at least, even if he did not afterwards return hither, and "the end of his travel was observation." He was, very likely, employed by those who were interested in the growth of the Plantations, to indite his "true, lively, and experimentall description of that part of America commonly called New England, laying down that which may both enrich the knowledge of the mind-travelling reader, or benefit the future voyager." We can imagine the "mind-travelling readers" of that day wending their way to the shop of John Bellamie, "at the three Golden Lyons in Cornhill, neere the Royal Exchange," and making eager inquiries after the latest book on America. In his description of the several plantations belonging to the Massachusetts Colony, he begins with that farthest to the south, — Weymouth. He then says, "Three miles to the north of this is Mount Walleston, a very fertile soil, and a place very convenient for farmers' houses, there being great store of plain ground without trees. This place is called *Massachusetts fields*," etc. Mr. Young, in a note on this passage, says, "This hill (i. e. Mount Walleston) in Quincy, near the shore, and not far from President Adams's seat, still bears the name of Mount Wollaston." The truth is, (though it did not fall in with Mr. Young's object to notice the fact,) that this was the name, not of a hill only, but of the whole plantation, afterwards called

Braintree, and including what is now Braintree, Randolph and Quincy, and extending from Weymouth on the south to Dorchester on the north. The hill near the shore, that still retains the name, is part of a farm which belongs to ex-President Adams, and which formerly belonged to John Quincy, his maternal grandfather, after whom he and the town of Quincy were named. Mount Wollaston, at the time Wood wrote, belonged to Boston, and many of the residents of Boston had their farms there. There Wheelwright, one of the fathers of New Hampshire, preached when the church at the Mount was a branch of the Boston First Church. There Atherton Hough, one of the prominent inhabitants of Boston, had a farm assigned him on a neck that still bears his name, and is called Hough's neck. There William Coddington had his farm, probably the very Mount Wollaston farm now belonging to President Adams. He was one of Wheelwright's most enlightened and zealous supporters in the Antinomian controversy, and went off in consequence of the issue of that controversy, and was chosen President or Governor of the Colony, which he helped to found, of Rhode Island. In the same place, also, the famous Braintree Company sat down for a while before they went to Newtown, and thence removed to Hartford, leaving a memorial of the temporary sojourn of the whole, and of the permanent residence of a part, of that Company, in the name which was subsequently given to the place when it was incorporated as a town. Moreover, Mr. Savage is of opinion that the settlement of Wollaston and his company was permanent at the Mount, and if so, as he remarks, it claims the credit of being the oldest permanent settlement in Massachusetts Colony. Furthermore, it gave to the State its noble name; for here, in a part of what is now Quincy, and was formerly Braintree, and still earlier Mount Wollaston, are what were called the "Massachusetts fields," as Wood tells us. Here the Massachusetts sagamore resided. In fact, the northern portion of the town is still called "the Farms" — a name which is, doubtless, traditionary, and derived from the times when the savage lord of this region, who had had it cleared for his own culture, transferred it for farms to the inhabitants of Boston. So that the town now called Quincy, occupies the spot where the earliest settlement was made in this Colony, fur-

nished a name to the State, supplied out of its bosom good materials for the settlement of three other States — Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Hampshire; and in later times, furnished one President of Congress — John Hancock, two Presidents of the United States — the elder and younger Adams, and has been the residence of two Presidents of our honored University — Leonard Hoar, whose monument is standing in the burial-ground of this ancient town, and President Quincy, who still lives (and long may he continue!) to enjoy the seat which he has inherited from the first Edmund Quincy, of Mount Wollaston memory.

Chapter twenty-first, in Mr. Young's volume, contains Whiting's Life of John Cotton, the famous Puritan preacher, who probably exerted more influence in the Colony than any other individual; together with three letters from Cotton. Next in the series we have Richard Mather's Journal. "The MS. of this Journal," remarks the editor, "which is now printed for the first time, was discovered in Dorchester, in November 1844, in a box of old papers, which had not been examined for twenty-five years." Richard, the progenitor of all the Mathers in this country, came over in 1635, and was minister of Dorchester, in this Colony, from 1636, till he died, in 1669. Had his Journal never been fished up from oblivion by antiquarian patience, the world would probably have been quite as wise as at present. It was hardly worth printing. Anthony Thacher's Narrative of his Shipwreck follows Mather's Journal; and the volume concludes with Thomas Shepard's Memoir of his own Life.

It is hardly fair, when an editor has done his work so well as Mr. Young, and furnished such an attractive book out of old, neglected materials, to complain of what may have been left undone. But we cannot avoid saying how much we should have been pleased with seeing, in a work of this sort, more pictorial illustrations. We have one good head of Winthrop in the front of the volume. But why not Endicott, Leverett, Wilson? Then, too, that parish church in Boston, Old England, in which the famous Cotton preached before he emigrated, and which President Everett went to visit and which he so beautifully alluded to in his speech at Plymouth, on Forefathers' Day, 1845, — it would have done our hearts good to have seen an authentic

and accurate sketch of it in this volume. There is the old meetinghouse, too, at Hingham, which is said to be the oldest in New England, and which is now a most venerable and singular relic of early times, carrying back the beholder to within a few years of the first settlement of the country. Such objects, when seen, do not a little to help our conceptions of the times of which history preserves the literary record. We think, too, that the charter granted to the Massachusetts Company might have found a very appropriate place in these Chronicles. It has been printed, it is true; but it is not very accessible, and the insertion of it here would to us have enhanced the value of the book. But we prefer to thank Mr. Young for the good work he has done, rather than indulge in complaint or criticism. The notes in this volume are of very great interest and value. They present in an agreeable shape the results of much study, (how much can be estimated only by those who have engaged in investigations of this kind,) patient collection of time-worn manuscripts, extensive and accurate acquaintance with the labors of his predecessors in the same field of literature, scrupulous and praiseworthy reference to his authorities, and as we have before remarked, hearty love of his subject. The writings of our forefathers in reference to their great work of settling this continent have an intrinsic value, which antiquarians and professed students will not fail to discover and estimate. But the lessons they contain, and the virtues they exhibit, ought not to remain in the possession of the few whose tastes incline them to the study of past times. It is desirable that they should be familiar to the great body of our people. To effect this object, by presenting to the public, in an attractive shape, and with the necessary elucidations, documents which have grown musty and obsolete, is the important, and by no means easy office of an editor. The old Bay State (God save her!) as she has been through all her generations past, as she is at this day, — what nobler monument could the heroic Puritans have left to perpetuate their name and fame? Her children are with reason proud of her. She has a history worth recording, worthy of profound study. We know no more honorable employment for the wits or pens of her scholars, than to illustrate that history. And we conclude with saying, Honor to him who helps to do honor to the Puritans.

W. P. L.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*Miscellanies consisting of I. Letters to Dr. Channing on the Trinity. II. Two Sermons on the Atonement. III. Sacramental Sermon on the Lamb of God. IV. Dedication Sermon — Real Christianity. V. Letter to Dr. Channing on Religious Liberty. VI. Supplementary Notes and Postscripts of New Additional Matter.* By M. STUART, Prof. Sac. Lit. in the Theol. Institution at Andover. Andover. 1846. 12mo. pp. 369.

THE title above given will serve for a table of contents to the volume, which the Professor wishes "to bequeath" as his "legacy," — the legacy of his opinions, — to posterity, containing his "latest testimony" on the subjects treated. It embraces, as will be seen, matter both old and new. On the old we shall offer no comment. It belongs to the past, and can possess, we should suppose, no interest for any one, at the present day, except the historian of opinions. A considerable amount of new matter is added in the form of postscripts, which contain rambling remarks on almost all sorts of subjects connected with theology and theological parties. These postscripts will add nothing to the author's posthumous reputation. While portions of them bear marks of his once vigorous intellect, others show a senile garrulousness, occasionally something worse.

A more undignified piece of criticism, less worthy of a scholar and a gentleman, than the remarks on Mrs. Dana's Letters, it has seldom been our lot to meet. The Professor's attack on this lady we hesitate not to pronounce unmanly, coarse, and unchristian. It is in the worst style of partisan newspaper abuse, and had the piece been offered for insertion in the journals of the day, it would have been rejected, we think, by almost any editor of reputable standing. It is absolutely insulting. The Professor attempts, in a strain of awkward ridicule and clumsy witticism, to chastise the lady for presuming to meddle in matters of theology. The idea of such a thing he seems to think quite ridiculous. As if a lady had no business to form an opinion respecting the Object of Christian worship, and state the grounds of that opinion to the public, should she choose! Really the Professor appears to rate woman's understanding and privileges very low. He is a very Mahometan in his estimate of the sex.

The "head and front" of Mrs. Dana's offending is, that having from reading the Scriptures and from her own reflections alone, and without an acquaintance with any Unitarian writings,

gone over from the Orthodox faith to Unitarianism, she was led to pursue her inquiries and read Unitarian books, and being fully confirmed in her change of views, she, in the course of the last year, published a volume of Letters addressed to her relatives and friends, defending her new views of Christianity, which had been to her a source of great joy and consolation. (*See Christian Examiner for Nov. 1845, pp. 349 et seqq.*) The volume proved popular and has had an extensive circulation, and finally fell into the hands of Professor Stuart, whereupon he greatly marvels, and is "filled with a variety of conflicting emotions." "An extraordinary woman," \* \* "thus to venture, clad in masculine armor, upon tilt and tournament, on a field where none but those trained to the use of arms are wont to appear. It was the first time, within the compass of my reading, that I had ever met with such an occurrence."—p. 197. Solomon, the Professor goes on to say, had he lived in these days, would have found occasion to review his adage,—"there is nothing new under the sun." We are sorry that the Professor's reading is so limited, especially in the department of female authors. Perhaps his contempt for woman's understanding has prevented him from looking into such writers as Harriet Martineau and Joanna Baillie, both of whom, to say nothing of others, have written in defence of Unitarianism. The Professor proceeds, in quite a frisky style, to talk about what gallantry to the ladies requires, and does not require; what one is to do or expect, when he enters the list with a "lady-combatant," or "lady-knight," for so he facetiously calls the author of the Letters. He turns her "sufferings," to which she alludes in connexion with her change of faith and the struggles of different kinds she was compelled to pass through, into ridicule; jests upon her sensibility; throws out innuendos about "the *exquisite* and the *sentimental*;" and even ventures, if we understand him, to suggest a doubt of her veracity. Really, this exceeds the ordinary license of partisan criticism. Has every particle of humanity died out of the venerable Professor? Is this the fruit of a long life of theological study?

After four or five pages filled with cold-blooded sneers and such poor attempts at wit as we have described, the veteran theologian goes on to point out what he conceives to be some critical errors into which the "lady-combatant" has fallen. Whether in this he is successful or not, is of very little consequence so far as the general merits of her book are concerned. Others fall into errors sometimes. Perhaps Mr. Stuart, by a little effort of recollection, can recal a critique once offered by a New Haven Professor on a certain performance of his own, which was not thought to have left him wholly unscathed. At all events others have not forgotten it.

Mr. Norton and others come in for the usual quantity of abuse from Professor Stuart. The College question is again brought under review. The Professor must have a last word upon that, and leave on record his "latest testimony" to the "exclusiveness" of Unitarians in regard to the management of the University. Some of his remarks on this subject convey an erroneous impression, and are, to say the least, on the very brink of falsehood. He complains bitterly of Unitarian influence at the University. But what is the remedy? Are all sects in the Commonwealth to "have their representatives in the University," or a "place in one of the Boards," or "among the Faculty"? No, no, says the Professor, God save us from that. This would bring in "Universalists, Abner Kneeland's men, Fanny Wright's suitors, the *Come-outers*, the Hegelian Transcendentalists, the Parkerites, the Swedenborgians, *et id genus omne*," and "would indeed be the utter ruin of the respectability of the University." What then is to be done? The Professor acknowledges his embarrassment. On the whole, however, he proposes to "give up the University to the Unitarians," they, on their part, giving up "to the Orthodox, all the funds," which the latter "have ever contributed, and all the books and apparatus which they formerly collected, or at least the value of them, and also the value of the buildings which they erected, and their proportion of the donations which the *State* has made to the University."—p. 358. In this proposal the Professor appears to be entirely in earnest, it being of no use, he says, to "carry on the contest about Cambridge any longer, after the manner of times that are past." If something of the kind which he proposes is not done, he intimates that the Orthodox, who, he says, "have a large majority in the State," may by and by rise, and "having control of the Legislature," proceed to remodel the University, introducing a "*test*, that would man the Institution through and through with Orthodoxy."

Having despatched the matter of the University, the Professor next proceeds to open his battery upon the Judiciary of the Commonwealth, the decisions of which he is confident have been warped by these same dreadful Unitarian influences, and so the churches have been despoiled of their rights, and have been "*disfranchised*." On this subject he has some pages of indignant remark. And what remedy does he propose here? Why, the whole, "is a just matter for *legislative interference*."—p. 368. (The italics are the Professor's.) But, what then becomes of the independence of our "high courts of Justice," which a few pages back the writer pronounces the "very life-guard in the temples of liberty"? And what validity have their decisions? None at all, as every one must see, and charters, contracts, rights long considered as settled, are to be submitted

to the ballot box at popular elections. This is being a little more of a nullifier, or radical, than we had heretofore supposed the Professor to be.

Since the Professor has left the sentiments contained in this volume as a "legacy" to posterity, the public may be curious to know in what form of Orthodoxy he finally reposes, it having been sometimes found difficult to class him. We will pass over other points, and say one word as to his "latest" views of the Trinity. First, then, he would banish the "word *person*" from all "Church-creeds."—p. 75. This is something. How then does he illustrate and define the Trinity? He makes it analogous to *understanding, will* and *reason* in man, the first of which "perceives and comprehends," the second "decides," and the third "ponders, compares," etc.; yet all make up one soul, which is also sometimes said to do what is at other times attributed to its separate faculties.—p. 214. This is an old illustration, which has not generally been accounted Orthodox, we believe, in modern times. The Trinity so explained is termed a "modal Trinity," which in reality is no Trinity at all. We greatly err if the Professor's exposition satisfies all his friends. After his long life of "investigation, study, and experience," and all the vituperation he has poured out, and is still pouring out, against the Unitarians, we see not but he ends in downright Sabellianism, which is only a sort of misty Unitarianism.—We conclude with expressing the hope that the Professor will find more mercy at the bar of heaven, than he has been disposed to show to his fellow Christians on earth. L.

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*An Examination of the Testimony of the Four Evangelists, by the Rules of Evidence administered in Courts of Justice. With an account of the Trial of Jesus.* By SAMUEL GREENLEAF, L.L. D., Royall Professor of Law in Harvard University. Boston: Little & Brown. 1846. 8vo. pp. 543.

IF this had been called "A Harmony of the Gospels, with Preliminary Remarks," we should have received it as a valuable contribution from an eminent jurist to our theological literature;—valuable as an expression of his sincere and intelligent faith in the Christian records, and valuable for the judicious remarks which he has prefixed to his arrangement of the Gospels. That it will be of service, in arresting the attention of a class of men who are perhaps too ready to be influenced by the objections of skeptics, and turn away from the New Testament without bestowing proper examination on its narratives, is probable; and we thank Professor Greenleaf for giving the weight of his name to the sufficiency of the Christian Evidences. But the title of the



volume, we are constrained to say, is not only too ambitious, but in a certain sense deceptive. At least, if others take it up with the expectations which the title created in our mind, they will be greatly disappointed. The "examination of the testimony of the four Evangelists" is confined to forty-eight pages of introductory matter, a very few brief notes in connexion with the text of the Gospels, and an appendix of thirty-one pages, eleven of which are filled with an abridgment of an article by Professor Robinson, published in the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*," on the best method of harmonizing the accounts of the Resurrection. The remaining four hundred and seventy-five pages consist of the text of the four Gospels, arranged as a harmony, (with the notes of which we have spoken, making in all perhaps twenty pages,) a Synopsis, and a Table of passages. Now we submit, that the title which the author has chosen is a singular misnomer for such a volume. Why the title-page should make special mention of "an account of the trial of Jesus" which occupies only nine pages, we cannot explain, unless it betoken his judgment respecting the amount of original matter which he had contributed to the work. Professor Greenleaf adopts the supposition of four passovers included within our Lord's ministry, which seems to us to have much less probability than the shorter period of fifteen months. His notes do not discover a wide acquaintance with theological or critical writings, but they are free from pretension and generally are founded on correct criticism. We cannot speak of them, however, as adding anything to the stores of biblical learning. If Professor Greenleaf had published his "*Preliminary Observations*" as a pamphlet, we should have been grateful for a clear and able vindication of the Evangelists' right to be accepted as faithful witnesses; but in the volume which he has given to the public, though he speaks once and again of the "plan of the work," we are unable to see either original conception or extraordinary execution. G.

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*Discourses of Rev. Edward H. Edes, with a Sketch of his Life.*

Boston: B. H. Greene. 1846. 12mo. pp. 280.

ANOTHER is added to the small but choice catalogue of volumes commemorative of deceased ministers of our denomination. The subject of that now under notice was not so widely known, nor so conspicuously useful, as some of those amongst whose memorials on the shelves of our libraries we make room for his; but so far as a pure, righteous and faithful life, spent in the service of God and man, entitles one to respect while living and to remembrance after death, the name of Mr. Edes deservedly ranks with those of the beloved and honored clergymen to whose society his spirit has ascended.

The memoir appears to have been written with an affectionate and truthful pen. It is a brief sketch of a well regulated life, diversified by no striking incidents, but by no means devoid of interest to the Christian reader, since it shows the steady and uniform progress of a virtuous soul — the gradual ripening of a religious character whose seeds were sown in early life under the influence of a Christian mother. His history is soon told. He was born in Boston in 1803; prepared for College at the Academies of Bridgewater and Exeter; remained at Harvard University for two years, when the death of his mother, upon whom he relied in part for his support, and his own ill health made it necessary for him to give up a student's sedentary life; entered into business and failed; devoted himself to the more congenial labor of preparation for the ministry; graduated from the Theological School at Cambridge in 1831; was settled first at Eastport, and subsequently at Augusta and Kennebunk in Maine, and died, while on a visit in his native city, on the 30th of May 1845. His constitution was feeble, and during the whole period of his ministry he was compelled to struggle with imperfect health and a weak voice. But he struggled manfully; patiently endured many trials; and successfully performed many labors; made himself an acceptable preacher, and left behind him at each removal many warm friends and a clear impression of his virtuous influence.

The volume contains fourteen sermons on a variety of topics, written with care and earnestness — the earnestness of deep religious feeling. No one can read them without being convinced that their author was a man of thoughtfulness, independence and unaffected piety, who prepared himself for the pulpit under a strong sense of responsibility to God and with a sincere desire to promote the moral and spiritual improvement of his hearers. They are creditable alike to the mind and the heart of the preacher, and will be read with interest and profit, we hope, by many beyond the circle of his former friends and parishioners, who will dwell upon the pages of this volume with peculiar satisfaction, and preserve these relics of their affectionate and faithful teacher with a sacred care.

R.

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*The Worship of Genius, and The Distinctive Character, or Essence of Christianity.* By Professor C. ULLMANN. Translated from the German, by Lucy Sandford. London: Chapman, Brothers. 1846. 12mo. pp. 116.

DR. STRAUSS, in an article on "The Transient and the Permanent in Christianity," took occasion to say, that "the only worship left to the cultivated of this age from the religious disorganization of the last, is the worship of genius." This

remark stimulated Ullmann, Theological Professor at Heidelberg, to write the above-mentioned book. The following is a brief analysis. He first defines what he considers to be the true worship of genius, viz., the universal affectionate homage paid to every phase of art; and his statement is quite liberal. He then distinguishes, with considerable acuteness, the so-called worship of genius from the sentiment of religion, whose object is the Infinite Father, and is not restricted "to the cultivated of this age." Then follows the position: "Jesus is not merely a man of the highest genius." We believe this certainly, but we must say that it is not in consequence of the Professor's logic. There is a vague hint about an Atonement as being a distinctive quality of Jesus. In addition to which, he only insists upon the personal claim of Jesus, — that he was the Son of God; still leaving the question open for an opponent to show, that Christ meant what *he* believes, and also that the union of Christ with God was such as could only take place by the immediate exercise of the Divine will, which leaves a whole philosophy of inspiration unestablished. The Essay is chiefly valuable for its clear expression of the Christian doctrine of the Divine immanence, as opposed to the old view of a God afar off, and the Pantheistic view of an impersonal substratum of nature and spirit. This bears upon the question concerning Christ, because Pantheism leaves unexplained the fact of sin. So far very good: but Professor Ullmann adds that the fact of sin renders necessary a Redeemer, and not believing in the popular theory of atonement, he unfortunately fails to show what in Christ's influence is so peculiar as to distinguish him *in kind* from a person of the highest genius; which should have been proved.

The "Distinctive Character, or, Essence of Christianity," forms the second Essay. Its point is briefly this: — Christ redeems by the power of his life, and this life has its central point of vitality, viz.: "the perfect union in his person of the Divine and human, which is the potential destiny of the race."

W.

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*Shakspeare's Dramatic Art: and his relation to Calderon and Goethe.* Translated from the German of Dr. HERMANN ULRICH. London: Chapman, Brothers. 1846. 8vo. pp. 554.

WITH the exception of a faint evangelical savor, a fault not common to German aesthetics, this book is very fine. Its chief merit and design are this: it establishes the essential Christianity of Shakspeare. The author gives a clear and admirable definition of Christian dramatic art, as shown, for instance, in Shakspeare's historical dramas: — "on one side God with His love and justice, and on the other human activity in its contra-

riety of objective and subjective freedom, (the one coinciding with moral necessity — the other with human caprice)." We are, therefore, not surprised to read of the tragic, and of the comic, "aspect of the Christian view of Providence." The former is based upon "the Divine justice and moral necessity as the leading principles of history and the arbiters of men's fortunes:" the latter, upon "the Divine love, with the motley play of human caprice, as the leading principles of man's life and destiny." This antithesis is admirably elaborated and explained by Dr. Ulrici, who seems to unite the piety and speculative aptness of the German to the nervous common-sense of the Anglo-Saxon. Nor do we mean to insinuate that this union is uncommon in the fatherland of thought.

We acknowledge great delight at the manner in which the author applies his theory to Shakspeare, or rather illustrates it from the sources whence the theory was drawn. The book requires a much more extended notice than we are able here to give to it, and the impression we impart must necessarily be very vague. It must suffice to say, that he successfully meets the objections drawn from Shakspeare's forced and unnatural play of words, from his occasional coarseness, and from the introduction of the comic, and even of abuse, sarcasm, and banter, into his tragedies. These very objections assist Ulrici to render yet more luminous his theory of the two aspects of the Christian view of Providence.

His orthodoxy startles us in the following sentence:—"When I speak of the special purity and completeness with which Shakspeare has preserved the Christian view of things, I do not leave out of the account the doctrine of man's universal sinfulness, and the divine grace of redemption. They are not indeed, to be found in Shakspeare's view of things under the form of religious edification, moral instruction, or philosophical disquisition, *but still they are there*, and in a mode which in every respect is truly poetical." We hasten to avow ourselves as orthodox as Shakspeare, who, to our liking, has sweetened the pill till it ceases to be medicine.

Judging from infallible internal marks, not having seen the original German, we should say that the translation is of the first order. To Dr. Ulrici must be awarded the high praise of having explained to us, from the Christian point of view, that which we mean when we call Shakspeare "the great poet of Nature."

W.

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*Griselda. A Dramatic Poem.* Translated from the German of FRIEDRICH HALM, by Q. E. D. London. 1844. 18mo. pp. 139.

THE plot of this drama, which a friend has sent us from England, is simple, but needlessly painful. Percival of Wales, a brave

but somewhat uncourtly knight, the lordly subject of King Arthur, charmed with the beauty, and still more with the modest virtues of Griselda, the daughter of a poor, blind collier, elevates her to his rank and makes her his wife. Amidst the splendor of a royal festival, Percival is twitted and ridiculed by Ginevra, queen of Arthur, for having wedded a woman of so humble birth. The knight of the Round Table vindicates her claim to his and their admiration, and the controversy waxes warm, till it is proposed to settle the matter by subjecting Griselda, who was absent, to a most cruel trial of her love. Percival, stung with indignation, and eager to prove his wife's fidelity, accepts the challenge, and amidst circumstances of pain and horror which we need not describe, secures his triumph over the queen and the ladies of her court. But at the moment of the injured woman's restoration to her home she loses her trust in a husband who could so trifle with all that is most sacred and holy in her love, and refusing to accept again his protection, returns heart-broken to die with her father in solitude.

Now what we say of this drama is, that it is a most distressing production, — made so by the peculiar nature of the incidents, — and need not have been written. We cannot see what valuable truth it teaches, with any justness or moderation. Undoubtedly it is a wicked and detestable thing for a husband to sport with his wife's feelings, and the less he allows himself to hear her disparaged, or to *argue* her goodness against thoughtless and malicious aspersions, the better. But on the other hand, the knights of King Arthur's days were not, we suppose, quite so cool headed or so Christian individuals as some of the respectable citizens of Victoria's. And accordingly Percival ought not to suffer so terrific a punishment. There appears to us an inconsistency in the conception of the principal incidents and characters of this poem. Until the moment of this unfortunate meeting between the Queen and Percival, Griselda had been all that a wife should be, and Percival, if he had not been all that the lord of so noble spirited and tender a woman should be, had at least kept her love, and his own love for her. We submit that the reader cannot find in the reason assigned a sufficient cause for the rupture of an affection that had borne and forborne, forgiven and survived, so long.

Of the literary execution of "Griselda" we can speak in high praise. The simplicity of the plot leaves little room for great skill in the management and progress of the piece or the development of the catastrophe; but the absence of intricacy hardly detracts from the interest. There are passages in the play written with great power, and showing a superior mastery of language, vigor and clearness of thought, and brilliancy of imagination, both in the author and the translator, who, we under-

stand, is an English lady. Indeed, we do not see why this drama may not take honorable rank with those of Mr. Talfourd and Mr. Sheridan Knowles. Perhaps exceptions might be taken to such poetical (?) liberties as "festal" (used three times as a substantive for *festival*), "wrath" (used twice as an adjective for *wroth*), "submiss," (for *submissive*), and a phrase so sadly elliptical as "when pleases me invite them." Generally the style is pure and strong, notwithstanding the deprecatory note at the beginning. H.

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*Thoughts on the Poets.* By HENRY T. TUCKERMAN. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1846. 18mo. pp. 318.

THESE "Thoughts on the Poets" are criticisms upon various writers, who by their genius have become illustrious either in the past or the present. They are the thoughts of one who has the soul to appreciate what is beautiful and good, and who has shown in this volume not only that he can be moved by the thoughts of others, but that he can clearly and justly analyze their peculiar characteristics, that he can give us a reason for his having been interested; and by his discrimination he may lead some to turn with new pleasure to a favorite author, or to do more justice to one for whom they have felt an unreasonable aversion. Mr. Tuckerman's whole soul is, evidently, alive to the excellencies of those of whose writings he speaks. He dwells upon his subject with sincere delight, and this gives freshness to his remarks, and leads the mind to pause with readier sympathy over the many passages of peculiar beauty which are scattered through his pages. There is also a wide scope in regard to the authors considered. In proof of which we need only quote the names of Petrarch and Alfieri, Goldsmith and Gray, Cowper and Pope, Crabbe, Shelley, Byron, Hunt, Rogers, Burns, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Barry Cornwall, Hemans, Tennyson, Drake and Bryant. These he judges by a high standard and reads with a generous sympathy. We do not fully agree with all the views expressed, but the spirit throughout is pure and elevating, the style clear and forcible, and most of the criticisms just, and often such as display great sagacity and insight. The general merit of the book is its simplicity and quiet thoughtfulness. It is the work of a meditative mind, and yet a mind which can be stirred, and stirred deeply too, by high and holy thought. W.

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*Memoir of Johann Gottlieb Fichte.* By WILLIAM SMITH. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 157.

To those who read only for idle amusement this volume, republished from the English edition, will not prove particularly

attractive; but by the thoughtful, who are aware of Fichte's great fame, yet know little of his personal history, it will be eagerly read, and will amply repay perusal. Whatever may be said of Fichte's theories, his "practical philosophy," we believe it is universally admitted, was "of the purest character." He had an enthusiastic love of truth and goodness, and inspired it in the breasts of others. The following extract from the short, but fresh and sparkling preface to the American edition, will show the views and wishes of the editor.

"This excellent Memoir will probably establish Fichte among us. The English edition contains also a translation of one of his finest works, the "Nature of the Scholar." We look to see the success of this Memoir demand a republication of that also. It will be a seasonable word to our scholars, its lofty requisitions will deepen their earnestness, its merciless analysis will abolish trifling, its simple yet smiting appeals will cause them to venerate their vocation."

We hope that the editor will not be disappointed in the anticipated result of the publication. In his wish to see a reprint among us of the work alluded to we most heartily join. L.

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*The Acts of the Apostles, arranged for Families and Sunday Schools: with Notes and Questions.* By T. B. Fox. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 18mo. pp. 136.

"THE Ministry of Christ" published by Mr. Fox several years ago has been widely circulated and favorably known as a manual for Sunday schools. The volume of which the title is given above is intended to follow the former, resembling it in size and appearance, and having been prepared after a similar plan. It lacks however the attractiveness which was given to its predecessor by the selections of poetry introduced to illustrate the acts and teachings of the Saviour. One hundred and five of its pages out of the whole number, (one hundred and thirty-six,) are occupied with the book of the Acts itself, transferred from the New Testament, with no alteration, as we have seen, except a different arrangement of chapters, and the disuse of the division and numbering of verses adopted in our common bibles. The questions appear to be judiciously prepared, and the notes, in which the most difficult of them are answered, are accurate and satisfactory so far as they go. If they had been more numerous and full, the book would in our opinion have possessed additional value. It can now, however, be advantageously used in connexion with Livermore's valuable commentary. R.

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*Efforts at Christian Culture.* By MATTHIAS GREEN; being ten Discourses, delivered to the Unitarian Society, Newhall

Hill, Birmingham, including the Funeral Sermons of the late Edward Corn and the late Thomas Gibson. London. 1846. 12mo. pp. 142.

THE author of this little volume of Discourses is, we believe, a self-educated man, and he speaks of himself as elected "along with other members of the society" to which he belongs, to "conduct its ordinary public services." They are plain, serious performances, well adapted to the object for which they were prepared, and containing occasional references to the history of the society before which they were delivered, and the schools connected with it. The interest they possess must be chiefly local, yet they will prove further useful as affording an animating example of "efforts at Christian culture" among those who, with limited means, unite in the benevolent spirit of the Gospel for the worship of God and for moral and social improvement.

L.

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*Report on the Condition and Improvement of the Public Schools of Rhode Island, submitted Nov. 1, 1845.* By HENRY BARNARD, Commissioner of Public Schools. Providence. 1846. 12mo. pp. 252.

THIS is one of the most thorough, business like, interesting Reports on the subject of Common Schools which have ever fallen under our eye, and deserves a far more extended notice than we can here give it. The Report itself contains a great deal of information on the condition, past and present, of the schools of Rhode Island, and is full of practical suggestions for their improvement, while the ample appendix gives various documents, statistical and other matter, among the rest a history of legislation in the State relating to public schools. For two hundred years the "great interest" of popular education in Rhode Island, "was unrecognised and unregulated by law." She is now nobly redeeming her character in this particular, and if she perseveres as she has begun, she will soon reap the fruits of her liberality and afford an encouraging example to the world.

L.

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*David Ellington.* By HENRY WARE JR. With other extracts from his Writings. Boston: Crosby and Nichols. 1846. 18mo. pp. 192.

THE contents of this volume, with one or two exceptions, originally appeared in the "Monthly Miscellany." They well deserve republication in the form in which they are here presented. Like everything of the kind from Mr. Ware's pen, they are written in an agreeable style, afford the best instruction, and have much more than a temporary interest.

G.



## INTELLIGENCE.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*Ecclesiastical Record.*—Since the publication of our last number Rev. Mr. May of Leicester has relinquished his ministry in that place. —Rev. Mr. Folsom of Haverhill has closed his connexion with the church in that town. —Rev. Mr. Lloyd of Hubbardston has resigned his pastoral charge. —Rev. Mr. Clapp has dissolved his connexion with the church in Savannah, Geo., and has returned to the North. —Rev. Mr. Adam, who has been for several months preaching at Toronto, C. W., has removed to Chicago, Ill., where he will for a time supply the pulpit of the Unitarian society. —Rev. Mr. Capen has relinquished the charge of the ministry at large in Baltimore, Md. —Rev. Mr. Wellington has closed his labors in the city of New York, and the attempt to gather a third Unitarian society in that city is for the present suspended. —Rev. Dr. Dewey has accepted an invitation from the Unitarian society in Washington, D. C., to preach to them five months in the year, still leaving him free to fulfil the engagement with his congregation in New York of which we spoke in our last number.

Rev. Mr. Fenner, who graduated at the Cambridge Divinity School the last year, has accepted the invitation of the Unitarian society in Cincinnati, Ohio, to become their minister. —Rev. Mr. Winkley, who graduated from the same School this year, has accepted the appointment of a minister at large in Boston. —A portion of the society lately under the care of Rev. Mr. Muzzey of Cambridge, with others, have formed themselves into a new congregation, to whom he is now preaching. —The First Congregational society in Framingham, over whom Rev. Mr. Bellows was recently settled, are erecting a new meetinghouse. —The society at Westford are repairing their house of worship. —The Unitarian congregation at Troy, N. Y., have found it necessary to enlarge their house.

*Cambridge Divinity School.* — The thirtieth Annual Visitation of the Divinity School at Cambridge took place on Friday, July 17, 1846. The exercises were attended, as usual, in the College Chapel, President Everett presiding as head of the Theological Faculty of the University. Prayer was offered at the commencement of the exercises by Professor Noyes, and at the close by Professor Francis. Three hymns were sung in the course of the morning, written by members of the graduating class. The number of Dissertations read was twelve; one, by Mr. Henry B. Maglathlin, on "The opinion that man is not responsible for his faith," being omitted on account of his necessary absence. The subjects were as follows:—"The past and present value of ecclesiastical Councils"—Mr. Edwin G. Adams; "The moral doctrine and practice of the first three Centuries"—Mr. Thomas P. Allen; "How far is a doctrinal system useful or necessary?"—Mr. Robert S. Avery; "Our Saviour's purpose or purposes in forbidding the publication of his miracles"—Mr. George F. Clark; "Paul's doctrine of Justification by faith explained in harmony with

the teachings of Christ, and the views of James"—Mr. Octavius B. Frothingham; "The example of Christ as a religious teacher"—Mr. Samuel Johnson; "The reality and design of the Transfiguration"—Mr. Leonard J. Livermore; "The true ground of unity in the Church"—Mr. Samuel Longfellow; "The character and influence of Zwingle"—Mr. Farrington McIntire; "Christianity in France"—Mr. Washington Very; "The love of popularity in a pastor"—Mr. Samuel H. Winkley. The dissertations occupied from fifteen to twenty minutes each, and were heard by an audience that nearly filled the chapel.

After dining together in Harvard Hall, the Alumni of the Divinity School held their annual meeting, Professor Francis presiding, and reelected the officers of the last year. Rev. Francis Parkman, D. D. of Boston, was chosen to deliver the Address on the next anniversary in case of the failure of Rev. Dr. Noyes, elected the last year. It was voted, that the meetings of this Association for business be held in future at 9 o'clock A. M. on the day of the Annual Visitation, instead of 3 o'clock P. M., to allow more time for discussion. The subject of the Peace Address lately received from Unitarian Ministers in Great Britain and Ireland having been brought before the meeting, it was *Resolved*, "That a Committee be appointed to prepare a reply to the letter lately received from ministers of our faith in Great Britain on the subject of peace, and to send it to England in behalf of those who may think proper to sign it." Messrs. Gannett of Boston, Stetson of Medford, and Bellows of New York were appointed as this Committee. One or two subjects were brought before the notice of the Association, but the single hour which alone was at the command of the Association, left no time for their consideration.

At 4 o'clock the Annual Address was delivered in the College Chapel by Rev. William B. O. Peabody D. D. of Springfield, on the Christian idea of Priest and King, or, the union of holiness and power in the Christian character. We hope to lay it before our readers in our next number.

The annual discourse before the graduating class of the Divinity School, delivered always on the Sunday evening before the Visitation, in the meetinghouse of the First Parish in Cambridge, was preached this year by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg, from Acts vi. 10, on the sources of power in a preacher; which were presented under the five heads of an earnest personal faith, singleness of purpose, a clear apprehension of the end to be effected, an acquaintance with the philosophy of the human mind, and an adaptation to the wants of the time in which the preacher lives.

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*Meadville Theological School.*—The Annual Exhibition of this School took place on Thursday, July 2, 1846. The Report of the Visitors presents a very favorable view of its condition. Twenty-three students read dissertations;—thirteen in the Junior class, seven in the Middle, and three in the Senior;—as follows. The Parables—J. L. Townner; The scenery of Palestine—C. M. Taggart; Conscience—H. B. Poyer; The supreme law in morals—Noah Michael; Heresy—Samuel M'Kown; Intimations in nature of the doctrine of immortality—J. W. Mackintosh; Principles of interpretation—E. W. Humphrey; Seasonableness of the time when Christ appeared—B. D. Himebough; The emotions as connected with

religion—William Cushing; Hume on the Christian miracles—Alvin Coburn; Morals and religion—N. O. Chaffee; Unity of God manifested in nature—Liberty Billings; Value of the Greek language to a minister—Stillman Barber; Justin Martyr—R. R. Shippea; The Hebrew language—James Elliott; Authenticity of the Pentateuch—Daniel Boyer; Paul on Mars Hill—E. P. Bond; The importance of a new translation of the Bible—Peter Betsch; The foundation of confidence in the Saviour—Dolenna Barnes; Hebrew poetry—G. S. Ball; A permanent ministry—C. G. Ward; The pastor—F. R. Newell; The pulpit—G. T. Hill. We cannot but notice the variety in the subjects of these essays,—indicating the extent of ground over which the Professors conduct their pupils; and the Visitors remark, that “it is evident there has been thorough and systematic instruction, and laborious study. The students have clear views of fundamental principles, and when it is considered that many of them came to the School with but little preparatory discipline, their performances seem the more remarkable; all of them were respectable, and some of them were excellent.” The central position of the School has a tendency to “draw students from all directions—nine from New England, two from Illinois, six from Pennsylvania, four from Ohio, and two from New York. The students are also of different denominations—Unitarians, Christians, and Methodists.” The library contains about two thousand volumes; in addition to which there are about nine hundred text-books for the use of the students. Some funds have been obtained for the support of the institution, and the expenses of the students are made as low as possible. Three having completed their course of study with the last year, have left the School for their chosen work, and a large class is expected to enter the next term. Indeed, everything in the history and prospects of this institution is such as to give the greatest gratification to its friends.

*Unitarian Association of the State of New York.*—This body held its first series of public meetings in May, 1846. On Monday evening, May 11, the Association met in the hall over the vestibule of the First Unitarian church, and the President having taken the chair, resolutions were offered concerning the progress of just opinion in the State, the importance of circulating Unitarian publications and establishing a religious newspaper, the attention which should be given to missions, and the interest felt in the Meadville Theological School. Several gentlemen spoke upon these points, and the resolutions were adopted. On Tuesday evening a sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Dewey of New York in the church of the Divine Unity, from 1 Timothy vi. 20, on the application of the principles of the inductive philosophy to the statement and exposition of Christian doctrine. On Wednesday evening a sermon was preached in the same church by Rev. Mr. Osgood of Providence, R. I., from Galatians v. 1, on the position and prospects of Unitarian Christianity. On Thursday evening a meeting for discussion was held in the church, when remarks were made,—founded on resolutions similar in character to those presented on Monday evening,—by Rev. Dr. Dewey, Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Troy, Hon. Mr. Jenkins of Vernon, Rev. Mr. Hosmer of Buffalo, Rev. Mr. Farley of Brooklyn, Rev. Mr. Holland of Rochester,

Rev. Mr. Taylor of Boston, Mass., and Rev. Mr. Conant of Geneva, Ill. The resolutions were then adopted, and the assembly retired at a late hour. The meetings were attended with great satisfaction by those most interested in their success, and the Association gives promise of efficient action.

*British and Foreign Unitarian Association.* — The twenty-first annual meeting of this Society was held in London, June 3, 1846. The anniversary sermon was preached in the Essex Street chapel by Rev. J. G. Robberds of Manchester, from Matthew iv. 19, and appears to have given general and great satisfaction. At the close of the religious services the meeting for business was opened, J. B. Estlin Esq. taking the chair. Mr. Hornby, the Treasurer, presented his Report, which exhibited the expenditures of the year as having rather exceeded £1,000, (\$5,000.) Rev. Edward Tagart, the Honorary Secretary, read the Report of the Committee who conduct the operations of the Society, which detailed the proceedings of the last year and suggested plans for an increased activity. The regular motions upon the acceptance of the Reports, the choice of officers, etc. were introduced by brief remarks from different gentlemen, after which a discussion of some interest arose on a resolution offered by Rev. Mr. Armstrong of Bristol, in reference to certain uncandid expressions used by the Bishop of Norwich at a recent meeting of the British and Foreign School Society; the debate ended in instructing the Committee of the Association to consider "what steps could be taken to secure that the schools of the B. and F. S. Society should be conducted upon the original, fundamental and comprehensive principles of the Society, without dogmatic teaching." A resolution was then adopted, approving of a measure similar to that which was the subject of much discussion at the late meeting of the American Unitarian Association, viz.

"That this meeting cordially approves the plan of appointing a travelling agent, being an educated and accomplished minister, well acquainted with the wants and character of the Unitarian body, to visit various churches and districts in the country, to preach, and make extensively known the plan and objects of the Association, and would urge it on the Committee to take immediate and efficient steps by the offer of adequate remuneration to obtain a well qualified individual for the office."

From the meeting in the chapel the members of the Association retired to the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to partake of the annual "dejeuner." About three hundred ladies and gentlemen were seated at the tables. A blessing was sought by Rev. Mr. Robberds, and thanks were returned by Rev. Mr. Armstrong. The chair was taken by Charles Paget Esq., who after the regular toasts, — "the Queen" — "the Royal Family" — "Civil and Religious Liberty all the world over," — called on gentlemen to speak in support of "sentiments" which had been prepared for the occasion. Speeches were made by Thomas Hornby Esq., Rev. Mr. Hutton of Birmingham, Rev. Mr. Talbot of Tenterden, Rev. Mr. Robberds of Manchester, Mr. James Yates of London, Rev. Mr. Tagart of London, Rev. Mr. Armstrong of Bristol, Rev. Mr. Gordon of Coventry, Rev. Thomas Cooper, Rev. Dr. Hutton of London, and Mr. H. C. Robinson. The "assemblage" then separated, shortly after 8 o'clock, apparently highly gratified at the result of the proceedings."

*Sunday School Association*, (in England.)—The twelfth anniversary of this Association was celebrated in London by a public "breakfast", on Thursday morning, June 4, 1846. The chair was taken by J. W. Dowson Esq. of Norwich, and after the reading of the Annual Report by the Secretary, Rev. Mr. Vidler of London, brief, but spirited addresses were made by several gentlemen. The *Christian Reformer* gives the following summary of intelligence communicated in the Report.

"In the 123 Schools from which returns have been received; there are 12,618 children and 2,395 teachers; to nearly all of them there are week-evening classes, libraries, saving funds, or other connected institutions. Six schools made returns last year, and have not done so this; in these schools there were then 747 children, and 86 teachers. If these numbers be added to those of the preceding schools, the gross total of the 129 schools would be 13,365 children and 2,481 teachers; leaving 29 schools of which the existence is known, but from which there is no numerical return. This is a large increase on the summary of last year, which, taken on the same plan, was 11,594 children and 2,058 teachers."

No one appears to have been present from the United States, but the last year, (as we should have been glad to notice at the time,) the Chairman, Rev. Mr. James of Bristol, offered the following sentiment:—"That this meeting desires to give a cordial welcome to Rev. Mr. Simmons of America, and to express its best wishes for the success of our brethren in Boston, who are laboring with such distinguished success in the field of Sunday School instruction;"—to which Mr. Simmons made a brief reply.

*Installation.*—Rev. THOMAS TREADWELL STONE, late pastor of a church in Machias, Me., was inducted into office as the Minister of the First Church in SALEM, Mass., on Sunday, July 12, 1846. The church preferred in this instance to return to the principle of lay ordination asserted at the commencement of their ecclesiastical history, and induct their own minister, without the assistance of other clergymen. George Choate M. D., in behalf of the Standing Committee, addressed the congregation in explanation of the course they had adopted, and then, after extending to Mr. Stone the right hand of their fellowship, charged him to be faithful in his ministerial relations. Mr. Stone made a brief reply, accepting the service to which they had called him. After which he was introduced into the pulpit, and the usual services of the Lord's day were conducted by Mr. Stone, with a special reference to the peculiar character of the occasion.

*Dedications.*—The Chapel erected for the Ministry at large in PROVIDENCE, R. I., was dedicated by appropriate religious services, (in connexion with the Ordination of Rev. Mr. Babcock,) April 8, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, from Revelation xxii. 17, (not xx. 17, as erroneously printed in our May number;) and the Prayer of Dedication was offered by Rev. Mr. Osgood of Providence.

The "Church of the Saviour" erected by the First Unitarian Congregational Society in HARTFORD, Conn., was dedicated April 22, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Harrington, pastor of the society, (whose installation took place on the next day,) from

2 Chronicles vii. 16; the Prayer of Dedication was offered by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Farley of Norwich, Conn., Ellis of Northampton, and Harrington of Albany, N. Y.

The "Church of the Unity" erected by the Second Unitarian Society in WORCESTER, Mass., was dedicated April 28, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Dewey of New York, from Ephesians iv. 16; the Prayer of Dedication was offered by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Clarke of Uxbridge, Hale of Worcester, (whose ordination as pastor of the church took place on the next day,) and Willson of Grafton.

The Mount Pleasant Congregational Church in ROXBURY, Mass., was dedicated July 29, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury, from Ezekiel xlviii. 10; the Dedictory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Dorchester; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, and Rev. Dr. Putnam.

#### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*New Works.* — We have found it impossible to furnish in our successive numbers such information in regard to the appearance or preparation of new works, either religious or literary, as we hoped to give when we included this department in the plan of our journal. The few pages which alone we can devote to "Intelligence," with the constant accumulation of that which falls under the head of "religious," will not allow us to present anything like a regular or complete announcement of the contributions which the press is continually making to the literature of our times, even in our own neighborhood. A multitude of books, of which a considerable part are really valuable, are reprinted here, and others of not inferior character are given to the public by American writers, but we are obliged to let them pass by as if we were ignorant even of their titles. We endeavor to include within our Notices some mention of every volume or pamphlet proceeding from our own denomination, or bearing on the great questions at issue between us and other bodies of Christians; and this, with occasional notices of such other works as may come under our eye, occupies all the room at our command. The same want of space has compelled us to omit that review of the political history of our times which we had once hoped to give in the Examiner, and which seems to us to belong to a journal whose purpose it is, to consider the character of the present period, in the world of action as well as of thought, as it appears under the light of Christian truth. We say this once for all, as an excuse for past deficiencies, and as an explanation of the incompleteness which must continue to mark our record of Intelligence. The necessity under which we have often been placed, of postponing, and afterwards throwing aside, matter which we had wished to publish when it would not be altogether stale, has taught us to reduce our expectations for the future. We shall be satisfied, if we can preserve a faithful record of whatever of importance takes place within our own body.

Among the volumes which have lately come from the press, we may mention as of special value the "Works of Henry Ware Jr., D. D.,"

issued by James Munroe & Co. of this city. The two volumes which have been published contain his miscellaneous writings, in prose and poetry, the greater part of which are already well known, but will be welcomed again in this permanent and well printed collection of his works. A third volume will contain sermons, most of which have never before been printed; and if sufficient materials should remain for a fourth volume, it will follow. We shall endeavor to take proper notice of the whole, when concluded. — C. S. Francis & Co. of New York have commenced another important publication — the “Works of Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D.,” the first volume of which contains Discourses and Reviews upon Questions in Controversial Theology and Practical Religion, some of which have never before been printed. We shall notice this volume hereafter. — We are glad to announce the publication of a volume of Miscellaneous Writings of the late Rev. Dr. Greenwood, compiled principally from journals and letters. — We learn with pleasure that a new edition of Noyes’s Translation of the Psalms is in press, with extended Notes. — Messrs. Ticknor & Co. of Boston have reprinted, in two very neat volumes, Motherwell’s “Minstreley, Ancient and Modern,” with an Historical Introduction by the editor, which fills nearly half of the first volume and adds much to the value of the work. — From the same publishing house we have received a reprint of Richard Monckton Milnes’s “Poems of many Years,” which will be acceptable to the lovers of modern English poetry of the purest kind. The style in which these publishers reprint choice works of elegant literature deserves commendation. — We cannot speak so approvingly of an edition of Shelley’s Poetical Works, issued by a New York house, and edited by G. G. Foster, who has prefixed a biographical and critical preface. It is said to be the only complete edition of Shelley that has appeared in this country, and is neatly printed, but on a type altogether too small for comfortable reading.

From London journals lately received we learn, that a volume to which we referred in the last number of the Examiner as in preparation has appeared, — under the title of “Unitarianism Exhibited in its actual Condition; consisting of Essays by several Unitarian Ministers and others, illustrative of the Rise, Progress and Principles of Christian Anti-Trinitarianism in different parts of the World. Edited by Rev. J. R. Beard, D. D.” We shall look for its arrival in this country with interest. — We observe with pleasure the issue of proposals for publishing “Principles of Textual Criticism, with their application to the Text of the Old and New Testaments. By J. Scott Porter, Professor of Scripture Criticism and General Theology in the Royal Belfast Academical Institution.” Such a work, executed as we believe it will be by Mr. Porter, we should esteem a valuable addition to the means of theological education. “It has been undertaken to supply a defect in English theological literature which many students have felt, and of which not a few have complained.” It “will be put to press as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers have been procured, and will form an 8vo. volume of ordinary size.” — We are exceedingly gratified to find that the Messrs. Chapman of London propose to publish a cheap edition of Mr. Norton’s “Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels.” The three volumes of the American edition will be comprised “in two handsome volumes, demy 8vo., bound in cloth,” and will be furnished to subscrib-

ers at fifteen shillings, or about three dollars and a half, a copy. The publishers announce that "there will be about fifty pages of new matter in the first volume, and this edition of the work will embody throughout various alterations and corrections made by the author at the present time."

*Serial Works.*—While the impure tastes of a certain—we fear, a large—class of readers are fed by the publication of numberless cheap tales which are sold at railroad and "periodical depots," and a vast amount of miserable fiction imported from abroad is reprinted here, it is but an act of justice, if gratitude did not impel us, to acknowledge the efforts of those publishers who are engaged in issuing series of works of a more profitable and substantial character, in volumes fairly printed and sold at a moderate price. Several such series are before us, and if they can all be sustained, the number of readers in this country is even greater than we had supposed. These "serial" publications include of course works of unequal merit, partly original, but mostly such volumes as have met with a favorable reception in former editions or have lately appeared in England. Wiley and Putnam's "Library of Choice Reading," published in New York, has reached the lxvith number, and consists entirely of reprints of English books; beginning with "Eothen," a very pleasant book of Eastern travels, and comprising other equally agreeable volumes by Hazlitt, Tupper, Dickens, and many others; while their "Library of American Books" is confined to the productions of our own writers, the last of which is Hawthorne's *Mosses from an Old Manse*. Appleton & Co. of New York have given in their "Literary Miscellany" still more choice works, such as translations of Michelet's *Life of Luther*, and his *Histories of France and the Roman Republic*, Gilfillan's *Sketches of Modern Literature*, Guizot's *Histories of the English Revolution and of Civilization in Europe*, etc. Harper's "Family Library," after reaching the clxxiird number, has been succeeded by their "New Miscellany of Sterling Popular Literature," which includes Whewell's *Elements of Morality and Polity*, Holmes's *Life of Mozart*, etc. J. W. Moore of Philadelphia has commenced a "Select Library," of which only four numbers have appeared, but which promises to furnish instructive reading. In this city Francis & Co. are issuing a "Cabinet Library of Choice Prose and Poetry," in which have already appeared Mrs. Child's *History of the Condition of Women* and *Biographies of Good Wives*, Mrs. Norton's *Poems*, *Memoir of Mrs. Hemans*, Talfourd's *Tragedies*, Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, and Tuckerman's *Thoughts on the Poets*, noticed in this number of the Examiner. J. Munroe & Co. have published the Second Series of R. W. Emerson's *Essays* as the first number of the "Boston Library of American and Foreign Literature." Saxton & Kelt, in their "Library of Select Literature," have given Wilson's tales of Margaret Lindsay etc., and Tupper's *Geraldine*.—Here is a sufficient amount of good reading, if our people are disposed to spend a part of their time in the cultivation of intellectual and moral tastes. We should be glad, however, if there were one series of "books for the people," which included works of a decidedly religious character. Why should religious books always constitute a class by themselves? Religion has its literature, and literature can never be complete without religion. Let them appear as friends and allies, not as having separate interests and separate provinces.



THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER  
AND  
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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NOVEMBER, 1846.

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ART. I.—THE MYTHICAL THEORY APPLIED TO THE  
LIFE OF JESUS.\*

THE reception in this country of a translation of Strauss's remarkable work, as well as the character of the work itself, justifies another and a somewhat extended notice of it in our pages. All of our readers must have at least heard of Dr. Strauss's book, and, we are bound to believe, have some idea, more or less defined, of its contents. The promulgation among us of the views which it advances may have led some of the less informed to regard them as of native growth, and to attribute them as original to any one who has received a part or the whole of them. How far Dr. Strauss himself is entitled to be regarded as the author of the theory which he most laboriously advocates, will appear as we proceed to present it. But we feel that it is important for very many reasons, to avert either the charge, or the claim, that New England or any one of her ministers discovered the theory. There were many persons here who knew of it before it found an open advocate. We are more anxious to declare the simple truth on this point, because we know that some persons have been

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\* *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined.* By Dr. DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS. Translated from the Fourth German Edition. In Three Vols. London: Chapman, Brothers. 1846. 8vo. pp. 423, 454, 446.

greatly mistaken in regard to the authorship of certain sentiments which have of late agitated this community. It is not necessary for us to enlarge upon this preliminary remark, further than to suggest that there is much less alarm, and danger, and risk of infection in views which, originating from most peculiar and complicated foreign influences, have been borrowed here by those who have cast themselves into the midst of those influences, than in views which have been naturally and inartificially attained by one who has studied without bias or eccentric tendencies. Only Germany, and only Germany of the nineteenth century, could have evolved the theory of Dr. Strauss. Whether its promulgation by any one here be an honor or a reproach to him, he must be content to call himself a mere copyist.

A few particulars relating to Strauss personally, and to his book, may properly introduce what we now intend to offer. Our purpose will then be, to present his theory with the details by which he would sustain it, with a criticism and a commentary upon it.

Not the least remarkable of the phenomena attending this work, is the youth of the author at the period when he gave it to the world. At an age when young men, who by a modern allowance have been permitted to teach their elders, most generally begin to admit modest humility to their true regard, and to realize, by disappointed pride or the vanishing of some delusion, that they know only in part and are just commencing their best education, Strauss published a book which opens with an absolute renunciation of Christianity as a revelation, and closes with instructing those who, like himself, are its ministers, how they may still preach it without believing it. If some venerable Christian divine had written such a book as the summary of a life of hard study, of full experience, and of devoted ministration to the sins and sorrows of humanity, we might read it with no other feeling than that of sympathetic distress. That plan into which angels desired to look, and which prophets and righteous men waited to see unfolded, might well claim from one who intended to reject it the deliberation and the patience of his most mature years. Strauss was born in 1808, and as his book was prepared and announced in private circles some time before he published it in 1835, he must have attained its results at a very early age. They

were causing a tumult, and setting more than a score of presses in motion in Germany, when he was twenty-seven years old. This fact alone would prove that Strauss had had his training amid the influences of a skeptical philosophy. And such was the fact. He was educated under the worst possible circumstances for the production of a Christian believer. He early attached himself with boyish enthusiasm to the philosophy of Hegel, the Pantheist, as taught with an attempt at a Christian baptism of it by his pupil Schleiermacher. That philosophy being received as established, the problem for its disciples to solve was — how it might be reconciled with Christianity. The one common object which united the labors of all the critics and scholars who formed the coterie in which Strauss moved was, to rid Christianity of the miraculous, and to resolve it in its documentary and historical shape into an earthly creation. His studies and colloquies were literally in a caravan of critics, of dealers in strange theories and artificial hypotheses, at a time when German speculations revelled in the most reckless license. The incidental mention through his volumes of the guesses and conceits and interpretations which many of his learned countrymen have given as the results of their biblical studies, presents a perfect museum of the extravagant creations of the human brain.

Strauss was preaching and delivering lectures on the philosophy of Hegel in the University of Tubingen, when he published there, as above stated, in 1835, the first edition of his *Life of Jesus*. The expectation which had preceded it drew immediate attention to it. That he should have still sought to retain his place in an institution designed to prepare young men for the Christian ministry, is one among many proofs of what may be called infatuation in the author. The constituted guardians of the University gave him an opportunity to reconcile, if he was able to do so, the views which he had promulgated with the office which he held, and failing to satisfy them, he was removed to another public trust where the inconsistency of his situation was not so glaring, though he retained the place but a few months. The cry of persecution was raised as a matter of course, and the fact that others did not feel bound to support him in his attempts to undermine their faith was interpreted into martyrdom for his own. In 1839, amid

great strife and opposition, and by a majority of a single vote, Strauss was elected to a theological professorship in the University of Zurich, but so intense was the excitement caused among the ministers and laymen in the city and canton, that a riot ensued and he was compelled to resign his office.

A second and a third edition of the *Life of Jesus* soon followed the first. It was vehemently assailed and subjected to severe and searching criticism, as well as to the usual controversial treatment in pamphlets and volumes. Strauss was forced to modify his theory and to make many important concessions in his third edition. From the moment in which he did this he broke the charm of his influence. The meteor which had hung like a portent, fell to the earth and disclosed its earthly ingredients. Discovering this, Strauss in his fourth and last edition, that from which the translation before us is made, revoked his concessions and entrenched himself in his original positions. A prohibition to print the book was strongly advised in Prussia, but the question of interdicting it being submitted to Neander at Berlin, he wisely approved the contrary course, on the ground that Christianity might face every enemy that it did not fear, and that the book was answerable at a bar which would not fail to put it on a fair trial. From a French translation of the German original an English translation was made; not for circulation among scholars, but to advance the cause of infidelity. This English version is wretchedly done. It appeared in penny numbers for a cheap circulation and a large market. Copies, or a reprint of it, have likewise been circulated in New York. More than one good English translation from the original German has been prepared, but no publisher would undertake it till recently.

Strauss is not, nor does he assume to be, the author, in the strict sense of the word, of the theory which he has advanced. He gives to it an origin about contemporary with the year of his own birth. But in fact the theory, in the whole and in its details, is little else than a revival of that which the school of English Deists maintained, and much of it is as old as the objections of Julian and Celsus. Strauss did, indeed, grow up at a time when the vagaries of speculation in Germany had reverted, in the revolution of human

fancies, to a constellation which once and again had risen and set.

The theory which Strauss elaborately—and yet most imperfectly, if he would assure us of all its conditions—has presented, stated summarily is this:—that Jesus, a young Jewish rabbi, born in a natural way about the time assigned in the Gospels, took from John the Baptist, an ascetic preacher, the idea of assuming to be the expected Messiah of the Jews; that he deceived himself first, and some of them afterwards, by addressing the known wishes of his countrymen; that he chose a circle of immediate followers; that he gave certain instructions, which it is impossible for us now to authenticate with any certainty; that he died a victim to the hatred of the Pharisees; that an idea (not an assurance) that he had risen from the dead, was made the basis of a continued declaration of him as the Messiah; that before our Gospels were written, popular credulity and legendary invention had accumulated around him tales of the miraculous, not designed for deception, but honestly believed by those who repeated them; that these legends, or myths, are poetical embellishments of real ideas connected with Jesus; and that in some cases we are able to discover the historical basis of a marvellous narrative in an imitation of the Old Testament. Such in brief is Strauss's theory, which will be more intelligible as we present its details. This is all that he allows as the basis of the Christian religion. Though the theory with its advocacy is spread over thirteen hundred pages, four times that space at least would be needed by him to authenticate it, and to meet the subsidiary questions which it suggests. He does not even incidentally advert to any of these questions, such, for instance, as the following:—How could Jesus deceive himself into the belief that he was the Messiah, and add such a delusion to the honesty and wisdom which are not denied to him? How could Jesus deceive his countrymen, when his whole course of life and teaching was so utterly opposed to their preconceived views of their Messiah? How could the faith in Jesus win any Gentiles to its credence, seeing that they did not care a straw for the Jews or their peculiar national hopes? Through the force of what motives could Jesus, living or dead, gain any followers? By what strange communion between holiness

and fraud did the Gospels gain the spirit and power of their sublime and beneficent teachings? These, and a multitude of like questions, are not debated by Strauss. Doubtless he expected his readers would be able to answer them all by the help of his theory, and consistently with it. Now if these unanswered questions were less in number or in pregnancy, this might be. But being such as they are, and all unsolved, they greatly embarrass his theory, and when fairly estimated, as we believe, they confound his theory. We refer to such questions now, only to acquaint our readers that Strauss has most imperfectly presented his own theory. Like the tower of Babel, it is left insecure and undefended at its ambitious foundation, and unfinished at the top, while the interstices between its stones gape for lack of mortar.

The opening paragraph of the work before us seems artfully to insinuate the whole perversity of its fundamental assumption as if it were an admitted and a necessary principle. Strauss says, that in case *any* religion resting on written records continues and extends through progressive mental cultivation, discrepancies will sooner or later arise between those records and more advanced ideas. First the external form, the expressions and delineations, are discovered to be inappropriate, then by degrees the fundamental conceptions are found untrue. He adds, that so long as it is possible to keep a show of concord by interpretation, it will be attempted, but by and bye the incongruity will admit of no reconciliation. Now this is simply begging the whole question which Christianity puts at issue. The author begins with the monstrous assumption of the identity in truth and in destiny between all religions which depend on documents, — he confounds all truth and falsehood, and advances a principle which would make every historical page perfectly worthless and blank as time advances. There is involved, likewise, in this assumption the fundamental idea of the work with its theory, drawn from the Hegelian philosophy, namely, that the Deity can make no extraordinary communication to his children.

Pursuing what we must pronounce the deceptive and insinuating course for which he thus prepares the way, he proceeds in his Introduction to refer to the interpretation of sacred legends among the Greeks, and then, as if only by

a slight transition from one thing to another very like it, he adverts to the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament by Philo, and of the New Testament by Origen. In making his way to the development of the mythical theory, he passes through the naturalistic and rationalistic schools of criticism which have prevailed in Germany. These unite in a common endeavor to rid the New Testament of the miraculous, by showing how, more or less consistently with the integrity of Jesus and of the writers of the New Testament, certain merely natural events or deeds have been invested in the narration, or appeared in their actual occurrence, with the hue of the supernatural. This class of German critics, represented by Paulus of Heidelberg, admitted an historical fact, where Strauss, as we shall see, admits only an idea, as the basis of what has been misrepresented, or misunderstood, or transfigured, so as to appear miraculous. Strauss might honestly and with reason wish to introduce a reform into the puerilities and levities of German criticism in the hands of the rationalists and naturalists. Criticism had certainly reached a limit in one direction, when explanations of which the following are specimens were offered to meet the apparently literal significations of the sacred narratives. The scene of the Saviour's temptation, which appears so real and solemn as presenting the deep conflicts of his soul preliminary to his mission, and as repeated to his followers to prepare them for their trial, was explained by supposing that an artful Pharisee went to Jesus in his retirement to see if he might not be drawn into the interest of the priesthood, and that when this devil was foiled, some angels, namely, a passing caravan, supplied Jesus with provisions. Paulus accounted for the knowledge which Jesus seems to have had of the course of life of the woman of Samaria, by suggesting that as he sat on the well a passer-by warned him to beware of the woman, then approaching from the city, as a person of bad character, who was on the look-out for a sixth husband. Heumann accounted for the agony of Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane by ascribing it to a severe "cold," which he had taken "in the clayey ground" around the brook Cedron. Surrounded by those who thus treated the Scriptures, Strauss certainly had strong inducements to devise at least a more rational, to say nothing of a more

reverential way of interpreting them. He set himself to the work, and the mythical theory is to him the result. He claims that this theory is faithful to history and to philosophy. He adverts to its rise in recent times, to its application at first to portions of the Old Testament, while it was thought improper to apply it generally to the ancient Scriptures, or to apply it all to the New, and he undertakes to show that those critics who have applied the theory have not well understood it, but have confounded myths with legends and allegories.

Strauss advances to his task by next attempting to show the possibility of the existence of myths in the New Testament in consistency with the external evidences of the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospels, and in consistency too with their internal character. As respects the external evidences as excluding the mythical theory he says, that the believing Christian can suppose his religion free from myths, only when he closes his eyes to the fact that his religion is subject to the same influences which have introduced myths into all other religions. Strauss, too, endeavors so to define the date and circumstances and authorship and historical characteristics of our Gospels, as to give time and opportunity for the incorporation of myths into them. Here we believe that he is not candid in presenting the real state of the evidence which we have for the Gospels. Yet all that he affirms on this point, it will be seen, is vitally essential to sustain his theory. He must secure time enough to allow the honest origin, the wide circulation and the general reception of myths relating to Jesus, before the composition of the Gospels. This is an enterprise in which he has signally failed. The evidence for the authenticity of the Gospels, as presented for instance, by Mr. Norton, is utterly inconsistent either with the honest or the dishonest origin of these myths. We should add, however, that Strauss does not enter upon this preliminary point at any length. He glides over it most hastily and superficially. One of the many unanswered questions which his theory involves might be pressed hard upon him at this very point. The Gospels may be traced to a period so early as to preclude his theory.

In an even more hasty and superficial manner does Strauss treat upon "the possibility of Myths in the New



Testament considered on internal grounds" (§ 14). Very much more of reason and argument than he advances would be needed to show, that it is consistent with the character of the Christian religion that myths should be found in it, and that the general construction of the Gospel narratives authorises us to treat them as myths. We believe that all experience will prove that religions call in the aid of invented wonders just in proportion as they lack solemn truths and practical counsels. Christianity, differing at all points from other religions, could then have afforded to have differed from them all in dispensing with myths. Here again our author should have laid out his strength to meet either the *a priori* objections of the case, or at least the strong prejudices of Christian readers. He does indeed offer some pleading upon this point, which we will endeavor fairly to present. He says, that if he succeeds by his critical examination in showing the actual existence of myths in the New Testament, "a preliminary demonstration of their possibility becomes superfluous."—(vol. i. p. 66). He allows the difference between the Hebrew and Christian religions and the mythical religions of antiquity on the score of moral purity, holiness and elevation of conception, but adds, that, "though every story relating to God which is immoral is necessarily fictitious, even the most moral is not necessarily true."—(vol. i. p. 66). Again, the Bible is not wholly free from the extravagant love of the marvellous, which is the character of the heathen mythology. The apparent reality of Bible subjects compared with those of Pagan religions would only prove, "that the biblical history *might* be true sooner than the heathen mythology, but is not necessarily so."—(vol. i. p. 68). As to all the other distinctions which may be raised between the Bible and Pagan religions, Strauss concludes that they are identified in an unscientific and unphilosophical representation of God as working in a particular way, in a part, not in the whole, and as interrupting the endless chain of cause and effect, which we know to be unbroken. "The result then," he says, "however surprising, of a general examination of the biblical history is, that the Hebrew and Christian religions, like all others, have their mythi."—(vol. i. p. 74). This result is most unfairly attained, for no argument whatever is offered on the positive side, and the objections adduced are

not met, while other objections are wholly suppressed. We cannot but regard the whole section as evasive and unsatisfactory. Strauss seems to have forgotten that the writers of the New Testament were not aiming to rival Hesiod and Homer in writing a poem, but were employing their pens, and offering their lives in testimony to what they had both seen and heard. We repeat, that the pregnant question, how far it is consistent with the actual character of the Christian religion and of the Gospel narratives that they should embrace myths, is most unsatisfactorily met; and, considering what a theory Strauss has to maintain and the importance of its preliminary authentication, we must add that he evades the troublesome question.

Our readers may now be inquiring what is the precise meaning which Strauss attaches to a myth. It is only at this stage that he himself strictly defines it.

"We distinguish by the name *evangelical mythus* a narrative relating directly or indirectly to Jesus, which may be considered not as the expression of a fact, but as the product of an idea of his earliest followers: such a narrative being mythical in proportion as it exhibits this character. The mythus in this sense of the term meets us, in the Gospel as elsewhere, sometimes in its pure form, constituting the substance of the narrative, and sometimes as an accidental adjunct to the actual history."—(vol. i. p. 85).

He adds, that the *pure mythus* in the Gospel is composed of two ingredients mingled in varying proportions, — the one source being the Messianic ideas and expectations existing in the Jewish mind in various forms before Jesus, and independently of him, the other source being the "particular impression left by his personal character, actions and fate, and which served to modify the Messianic idea in the minds of his people." The account of the transfiguration of Jesus, for instance, comes mainly from the former source, being borrowed from the scene of Moses on the mount, the only amplification from the latter source being, that those who are said to have appeared to Jesus spoke of his decease. On the other hand, the narrative of the rending of the veil of the temple seems to have originated in the hostile position in which Jesus and his church stood to the temple worship. Here, however, we have an element of the historical, though vague, and this brings us, says Strauss, to the *historical mythus*.

"The historical mythus has for its groundwork a definite individual fact which has been seized upon by religious enthusiasm, and twined around with mythical conceptions culled from the idea of the Christ. This fact is perhaps a saying of Jesus, such as that concerning 'fishers of men,' or the barren fig-tree, which now appear in the Gospels transmuted into marvellous histories: or, it is perhaps a real transaction or event taken from his life, for instance, the mythical traits in the account of the baptism were built upon such a reality. Certain of the miraculous histories may likewise have had some foundation in natural occurrences, which the narrative has either exhibited in a supernatural light, or enriched with miraculous incidents."—(vol. i. p. 86).

When narratives thus simply mythical become confused or transformed by long oral transmission, then they become legendary. From the myth and the legend in a narrative is to be distinguished that which is properly "*the addition of the author* as purely individual, and designed merely to give clearness, connection and climax, to the representation." Certainly here is a most hopeful realm of mists and shadows, through which a young student with such a view of the Scriptures would need to ask advice about many other points as well as about preaching what he did not believe.

The author then proceeds to show how the actual presence of myths may be recognised. "The mythus presents two phases; in the first place it is not history; in the second it is fiction, the product of the particular mental tendency of a certain community. These two phases afford, the one a negative, the other a positive criterion by which the myth is to be recognised."—(vol i. p. 87). The *negative* characteristics which determine a myth, and prove that a narrative is not historical, are the statement of anything "irreconcilable with the known and universal laws which govern the course of events"—any phenomena alleged to be produced immediately by God—anything supernatural—anything which breaks the order of sequence, the common course of succession—any inconsistency in the account with itself or contradiction of other accounts. Let it be observed here, that Strauss suggests the two main pillars which support his whole theory: first, the utter and absolute impossibility and incredibility of a miracle—a miracle cannot take place,—this is his fidelity to his Hegelian philosophy; and secondly, the discrepancies

in the Gospel history. A narrative which involves miracles or discrepancies is, so far, mythical. "The positive characters of legend and fiction, are to be recognised sometimes in the form, sometimes in the substance of a narrative." Thus if the actors converse in hymns and in an elevated strain, or if the contents of a narrative accord with ideas existing and prevailing in the circle whence the narrative proceeds, the form or the substance will indicate a mythical origin. After these definitions and criteria, Strauss lays down a principle loose enough to cover any case to which he may wish to apply it, namely, that if a narrative, standing alone, present "but slight indications, or perhaps no one distinct feature of the mythus, but is connected with others which exhibit unquestionable marks of a mythical or legendary character," suspicion is reflected back from the latter, on the former.—(vol. i. p. 92). The author affirms, that "the boundary line between the historical and the unhistorical in our Gospels will ever remain fluctuating and unsusceptible of precise attainment," and sets aside the expectation that his, "the first comprehensive attempt to treat these records from a critical point of view, should be successful in drawing a sharply defined line of demarcation."—(vol. i. p. 95).

Myths then, so defined and distinguished, according to Strauss are the main element in the Christian religion as set forth in its historical records. As to the authors of the myths,—the credit which is to be attached to them for poetical invention, or the blame which is chargeable upon them for a departure from the truth,—Strauss is somewhat reserved. As, however, there may be some misconception about this point, and some may think that a myth is only a critical epithet attached to what used to be called a falsehood, we bring together some further definitions of our critic. Myths, he says, are generally of a complicated character, and are not to be regarded as inventions of a single individual, for they are "the product of the particular mental tendency of a certain community." "It is not, however, easy to draw a line of distinction between intentional and unintentional fiction." Where a fact lay at the foundation, which by being popularly conversed upon and admired has been wrought into a myth, he "would readily dismiss all notion of wilful fraud, at least in its origin."

"The narrative," he says, "passing from mouth to mouth, and like a snow ball growing by the involuntary addition of one exaggerating feature from this and another from that narrator, at last is sure to fall into the way of some gifted minds which will be stimulated by the legends to the exercise of their own poetical, religious, or didactic powers."—(vol. i. pp. 78, 79). Again, he says—"It is however by no means necessary to attribute this same freedom from all conscious intention of fiction, to the authors of all those narratives in the Old and New Testaments which must be considered as unhistorical," (p. 83,) as patriotic or religious party interest may mingle intentional fiction with anything that has become the subject of free poetry. We suppose, however, Strauss would admit, though he does not say so, that the closer in date such fictions approached to the subject of them in actual history, the more likely they would be to deserve the name of falsehoods. No one thinks of attributing any other name to various stories about Mahomet than to call them downright inventions. We should have thought that it became a candid critic to allow, that the closer to the time of Jesus these myths, so called, might be traced in trustworthy documents, the nearer they approached to the character either of absolute and wilful lies or of creditable facts. Instead of this, his canon, frequently repeated, is, that the statements of the Gospels are incredible in exact proportion to their tendency to glorify Jesus.

The theory of Strauss, so vulnerable at every point, is liable at this stage of its development to many grave objections, especially to one raised here on the score of honesty, and the relation sustained towards the truth by those who, professing to write under the most solemn motives, do fabricate deceptions and falsehoods. We shall recur again to the vital objections to his theory in this view of it, but would merely add now the passing suggestion, that Strauss seems to reverse the usual agency of mythology. Myths have often brought down the gods from heaven to battle-fields and grottos, but they never before converted the son of a Jewish carpenter into a being for whose cause Jews, looking for a royal Messiah, would die, and Gentiles, despising all that belonged to Judea, would forsake their sacrifices.

To the weighty objection against this accumulation of myths and legends around Jesus in the short period of thirty, or even fifty years, (which he does not deny to be the most distant period from the Saviour's death which can be assigned for the composition of the Gospels) — that it is too short a time to admit of the rise of such a collection of myths, Strauss has a ready reply. He says that these myths or legends relating to the Messiah were all formed and in circulation before Jesus was born, and waited in readiness to be applied to any one whom popular credence might designate as the Messiah. So that from the death of Jesus to the first distinct mention of one or more written Gospels, an interval, long or short, was left, which was employed by an Apostle, not in the fabrication of deceitful stories, but in transferring to Christ, from the Old Testament, legends which the Jews had been thinking over between their Babylonish exile and his birth. These legends were slightly altered from their preconceptions, to adapt them to the real circumstances of Jesus; "only a very small proportion of the mythi having to be formed entirely new." — (vol. i. p. 85).

This is the general and unqualified position of Strauss. When he comes to apply his rule in specific cases, and to search for the origin in the Old Testament of some discourse or doctrine or lesson, or miraculous account, attributed to Jesus, we shall soon see how far-fetched and artificial are his proofs. Even if we were disposed to allow that the Jews would have a motive to apply their ancient Scriptures to a use which was so discordant with their own preconceptions, instead of being at all accordant with them, we should contend that the interval of time between the death of Jesus and the composition of the Gospels was not sufficient to allow of this transfer to a lowly man, who had suffered as a felon, of all the passages and deeds which were revered as the sacred memorials of the sainted sages of Israel. Even the Roman Catholic Church requires that a longer period shall elapse between the year when one of her most honored disciples may die in the odor of sanctity, and the year when by attested miracles, and the calm passage of time over his memory, he may share the glory of canonization.

Thus far we have attempted to present the general theory advanced by Strauss, independently of its details or proofs. A brief repetition of its essential features may not

be unacceptable to some readers. Jesus was born, lived, taught, and was put to death about the time alleged. He went with others to receive baptism from John, an ascetic preacher, and hearing the Baptist predict that the expected Messiah was near, he assumed to be that Messiah. Various circumstances and a slow and gradual process attached to him a few, and then many followers. All the sentiments and expectations which the Jews entertained concerning their expected Messiah, all the deeds and glories which belonged to their ancient worthies, were in process of time, naturally and without any great measure of intentional deception, transferred to, connected with, and repeated of him, modified slightly in order to meet the undeniable facts of his life and teachings. Hence the Gospels, with their miraculous narratives, their confusion, and their mistakes, their adaptation of Old Testament language, their Rabbinical lore, their superstitions and delusions. The Church created Christ, according to this hypothesis. What we have heretofore regarded as the result, Strauss proposes as the cause. Jesus said to his followers, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." This text, with so many other texts, and so many other processes, and so many other facts, Strauss entirely reverses. Christ did not found the Church; the Church invented Christ. The miraculous birth attributed to Christ was in imitation of that ascribed to many of the patriarchs. Nimrod and Pharaoh furnished the myth of the slaughter of the innocents. The Magian kings journeyed in fiction to fulfil a fictitious prophecy, and the star which guided them was that of Balaam. The transfiguration was an imitation of the vision of Moses on the Mount. Strauss is never in the least anxious to have an historical incident as the germ or historical basis of a statement in the Gospels. His ingenuity can detect the type in the Old Testament, or at least in the Talmud.

As Strauss hints in his Introduction, others had applied his theory to single incidents, but he makes a thorough and systematic trial of it. Nothing but the discipline of German theology could have enabled a man to devise such a theory. To a common-sense and unperverted view the idea of it would never have occurred. Many an humble cottage peasant has learned the whole contents of the Old Testament and the New by rote, and re-read them yearly

through a long life, and never dreamed of this critic's cunning conceit. A thoroughly instructed and unbiassed mind sees in the New Testament records the very opposite of all that pertains to mythology. Strauss makes the want of faith to create the material for faith. This is the process of Paganism, but he would find it a hard task to prove it in the case of Christianity. Houses that have substantial foundations and strong walls and sheltering roofs, are built from the outside, not from within. Yet it is remarkable that Strauss claims credit for his invention, and offers it as incomparably superior to the naturalistic and rationalistic methods of supposing a real historical fact to lie at the basis of every miraculous scene and narrative. Now there certainly is this difference between his theory and those of the rationalistic and the naturalistic critics; these latter theories regard the miraculous narrations as embellishments of *facts*, while the mythical theory regards those narrations as the embellishments of *ideas*. But be the difference between these theories what it may, it does not amount to a sand's weight in view of the common inconsistency of all of them with any rational and satisfactory view of Christianity as a revelation from God. We can regard the views here presented by Strauss as nothing but a simple and appropriate result of the skeptical criticism of Germany. He has cast the account, and has given us the summing up of a whole mass of mutually conflicting and almost equally worthless speculations.

This theory, as we have said, entrusts itself for support to two pillars of argument; the one philosophical, the other critical. The former is the assumption of the utter impossibility of miracles; the latter rests upon the discrepancies in the Gospel narratives. Strauss does not even deign to discuss the philosophy of miracles. He proceeds upon Hume's objection as being unanswered and unanswerable. As if not a word could be uttered in defence, as if the philosophy of Germany had gained an everlasting conquest over the philosophy of the universe, as if Hegel had vanquished the Almighty in single combat, our author assumes as an axiom, that a miracle cannot be, — that the order of nature as inexorably defies the power of God as the changing tide of the ocean sets at nought the skill of man, and that no purpose of the Deity and no benefit to be done



to his creatures can involve the slightest departure from the familiar succession of events. Of course, then, as this first support of his theory is considered as needing no defence, the whole work before us, after its brief introduction, is devoted to arguing the mythical construction of the Gospels on the grounds, that they involve incredible accounts, and that the narratives, independently of their miraculous statements, contain self-contradictions, inconsistencies and discrepancies. Whether or not Strauss may have proposed it to himself to effect it, his work bears evidence of a design which embraces three objects: first, to present, with all possible aggravation and pertinacity, all the discrepancies of the Evangelists; secondly, to spread confusion and despair amid the army of critics in his own country; and thirdly, to show his own ingenuity in developing and defending the mythical theory. There is great ingenuity shown by him in arraying before us the artificial, trifling or evasive attempts of the rationalistic interpreters to meet real or imagined difficulties in the Gospel narratives; because there is often something so gross and offensive in their suggestions, that his own legendary construction is made to appear by contrast attractive.

Strauss's *Life of Jesus* is divided into three parts, subdivided by chapters and sections, with a clear method and a natural order. The substance of his Introduction having been already presented, we proceed to the details of his theory, seeking for the proofs which he offers, based, as we have said, upon the miraculous character, and the discrepancies of the narratives.

The First Part treats of the birth and childhood of Jesus, — embracing the annunciation and birth of the Baptist; the genealogical tables of Matthew and Luke; the annunciation, and conception; the birth, and earliest events of the life of Jesus; the first visit to the temple, and the education of Jesus.

The strong points of the mythical theory are those which are presented in its application to the preliminaries of the Saviour's ministry as they are related in the Gospels. Here Strauss finds a rich field for the exercise of all his skill. What with the supernatural and startling character of the accounts, the difficulties presented by the genealogies, and the historical perplexities which are involved, he has fruit-

ful materials, which he uses well. We may say here at once and decidedly, that it is not our intention to follow him — as in a paper like this would be impossible — into the specific elements of his criticism, nor to enumerate the discrepancies which he detects, with the proposed solutions of them by biblical scholars. This is a task which belongs to the commentators, and which, as our readers know, has been well performed in innumerable volumes. We have observed however through the whole work before us a tendency on the part of Strauss to an uncandid exhibition and an exaggeration of these discrepancies, and to a concealment of the clue to their relief or explanation. Of this charge we shall adduce proofs.

Probably we shall not greatly err in surmising, that the fragmentary and peculiar character of the preliminary contents of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke suggested the application of the mythical theory, first to those portions, and then to the whole of the Evangelical histories. But as to any peculiar support which those portions especially, taken by themselves, may afford, over and above the rest of the Gospels, to sustain that theory, there are some peculiar considerations to be urged in accounting for it consistently with the general historical integrity of the records. We are not at all disposed to deny, nor is our faith in the miraculous character and in the credibility of the records one whit lessened by the admission, that the theory which Strauss so elaborately traces through them all may have a degree of truth in it. Neander allows that there is a legendary element in the Gospels. A slight influence of that kind would almost necessarily be looked for among the phenomena which authenticate the Gospels. Plenary and verbal inspiration, which no scholar of any creed now holds to, could alone guard them from it. Christianity would be subjected to mythical influence, it would invite imaginative and legendary embellishments in its earliest years, as it ever since has invited them, and as in some of its pretended records it has always embraced them. These legends and embellishments had their scope in the Apocryphal writings, which Strauss does not fail to use for his purposes, though they have always been regarded as affording by comparison with our authentic records the very criteria of the differences between truth and falsehood. There are early

apocryphal writings which embellish the birth and childhood of Jesus. But how? By the invention of gross, disgusting or contemptible stories, of descriptive and particular incidents, which stand in astonishing contrast with the delicate and tender and becoming pictures sketched with a few bright lines in the Gospels. Yet, nevertheless, the spirit and design which appear in the more seemly embellishments of these apocryphal writings, *may* have found a well-intentioned exercise in adding a preface, or in interpolating the introduction, to one or two of our four Gospels. We do not say that this liberty was taken; but only that we know of no reason why it should not have been taken, while it would naturally suggest itself, and while Christian history might seem to claim it or allow it. It is well known, that, for reasons satisfactory to their own minds, some of the most thorough and cautious scholars in sacred literature have insisted that those introductory portions of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (excepting the first four verses of the latter) are not authentic. This matter we cannot discuss here. As to the miraculous statements which they contain, they present no greater difficulties to a believer in such a God as the New Testament reveals, than does the most simple incident that transpires on earth, for the reason that God can do what man can neither do nor explain, and what may be also quite inconsistent with German philosophy and has never had the endorsement of Hegel. As to the genealogies, of Joseph and Mary, they were probably taken from some public records, and if there is no way of reconciling them—an object in our view desirable, but not vital—their inconsistency is chargeable upon their authors. But whatever other characteristics *may* attach to them, they certainly have no mythological feature. After having spent many hours of thought and study upon the incidents recorded of the birth of the Saviour, we have concluded to receive with gratitude rather than with complaint these beautiful and delicate fragments of a marvellous record. We have thought that the sooner we introduced God and his holy angels into a work which at some stage of it certainly involves their agency, the happier for our faith. Doubtless the sacred writers intended to wrap the birth of the Saviour in the same solemn mystery, with which they enshrouded the van-

ishing from mortal view of his glorified body. Must it not have been with the early days of Jesus as with the early days of this globe — a scene unwritten in history — marked in the ages of the Most High by a new effulgence of light, not in human records by sure tokens — a scene which has left visible testimony that it witnessed the first welcomings of heavenly power and love on the void which existed before? Strauss endeavors to add yet another to the repeated attempts which have been made to file away the links of the chain which connects God in heaven with man on earth. To succeed in that attempt, would be to leave a space not only unfilled, but unaccounted for.

When our author comes to those incidents in the life of Jesus in which he appears as a conscious agent, his ingenuity seems to increase in acuteness, and to be wasted. His criticisms designed to invalidate the historical truthfulness, and to show the mythical origin, of the appearance of Jesus at twelve years of age in the temple, amount to nothing in the scale of solid argument. He says there is always a tendency to attribute precocity to those who have in riper age exhibited mental superiority. This myth, we learn, was borrowed from the account of Moses, who, according to *Josephus* and *Philo*, had no taste for childish sports, and surpassed his teachers in his twelfth year. According to Jewish custom and opinion, the twelfth year formed an epoch in development. A tradition *later* than the Old Testament said, that Samuel prophesied from his twelfth year, and that the wise judgments of Solomon and Daniel had been given when they were only twelve. — (vol. i. p. 280). This is a specimen of the application of the mythical theory. The reality and fitness of that incident in the Saviour's early life were never so forcibly impressed upon our minds, as in the reading of this attempt to invalidate it by alleging certain like incidents, which, if they have any weight in the case at all, go to confirm it.

The Second Part of the work embraces the history of the public life of Jesus, including his relations to John the Baptist, his baptism and temptation, the scene and time of his ministry, his Messiahship, his choice of disciples, his discourses and miracles, his transfiguration, with miscellaneous events, and his last journey to Jerusalem. In treating his whole subject, we may say in general, that the method of Strauss is,

to present each scene, incident or narrative as given by one or more of the Evangelists, to point out every difficulty which the most unsparing and severe criticism can detect, to review the solutions and explanations which have been suggested by orthodox or rationalistic commentators, and then to propose his own mythical theory with its recommendations.

We are compelled to suppress most of the objections and strictures which flow to our pen as we review this work, but for justice' sake we must here write down one which is by no means trifling. Many readers of Strauss might suppose him not only to be very fair, but even liberal in putting before them all available means for meeting the difficulties which he adduces, and would think that he exhausted all the possible suggestions of criticism. But this is far from being the case. After making the most of each difficulty, he adds that critics and commentators have proposed this or that relief, leaving us to conclude that there is no other available method, while common sense in many cases recognizes no real difficulty or offers on the moment an easy solution of it, and in other cases other critics—not noticed—are not called in. Either from contempt of English criticism, or from a supposition that the German includes it, he confines his quotations to the German authorities, nor does he cite a single English writer save Lightfoot. We apprehend that honest Lardner might have helped him in many instances.

The chapter upon the relations between Jesus and John the Baptist affords a fair specimen of the author's method, and of his way of attaining a conclusion. The Scriptural passages relating to this subject are beset with all those perplexities of chronology and seemingly conflicting statements, which do really embarrass the literal interpreter. The principal difficulties encountered here are the dates of the commencement of the respective ministries of John and Jesus, the meaning associated with the baptismal rite, and with the proclamation of the kingdom of heaven, and finally, the degree of the Baptist's acquaintance with Jesus, and knowledge of his mission. The chief perplexity is found in reconciling John's alleged relationship and acquaintance with Jesus from his birth and his announcement of him as a worthier and mightier successor, with his

assertion that he knew not the Messiah when he baptized him, and with the subsequent message sent by two of his disciples from his prison to ask Jesus, as if in doubt, whether he were the Messiah. Our commentators offer to our minds satisfactory elucidations of the matter, but Strauss magnifies every trifling difficulty, he sees no way of reconciling them historically, and he offers his mythical theory, as if that could set chronology and fact at defiance. Of the severity, and may we not add, of the puerility of his criticism, the following is a specimen.

"Our accounts are not unanimous as to the signification of John's baptism. They all agree, it is true, in stating *repentance* to be one of its essential requirements; for even what Josephus says of the Baptist, that he admonished the Jews, *practising virtue, just toward each other, and devout towards God, to come to his baptism*, has the same sense under a Greek form. Mark and Luke, however, while designating the baptism of John, *a baptism of repentance*, add, *for the remission of sins*. Matthew has not the same addition; but he, with Mark, describes the baptized as *confessing their sins*. Josephus, on the other hand, appears in direct contradiction to them, [!] when he gives it as the opinion of the Baptist, that *baptism is pleasing to God, not when we ask pardon for some transgressions, but when we purify the body, after having first purified the mind by righteousness*." — (vol. i. p. 310).

A critic who can find direct contradiction in these wonderfully harmonious accounts, must evidently be on the search after faults. It is a suspicious circumstance to Strauss, when three or four Evangelists literally agree. When only one gives us a statement, he asks in dubitancy, how is this? And when, as in the case just cited, the sacred writers may be set in seeming contrast with another, he treats the matter as we have seen. What record in this world could abide such treatment?

Again, continuing in the same severe and childish strain, he says,

"The several accounts concerning John are farther at variance as to the relation in which they place his baptism to the *kingdom of heaven*. According to Matthew, the concise purport of the appeal with which he accompanied his baptism was, *Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand*. According to Luke, the Baptist in the first instance mentions only repentance and remission of sins, but no kingdom of heaven; and it is the conjecture of the people that he might be the Messiah, by which he is first

led to direct them to one who was coming after him. In Josephus, there is no trace of a relation between the ministry of John, and the Messianic idea. Yet we must not conclude that the Baptist himself recognized no such relation, and that its only source was the Christian legend — (p. 311).

After such criticism, we are hardly startled to find that the words put into the mouth of the Baptist concerning Jesus, "he must increase, but I must decrease," are described by Strauss as a mythical use of the same thoughts that the compiler of the second book of "Samuel has communicated, as his own observation, on the corresponding relation between Saul and David." The passage referred to by Strauss is, 2 Samuel iii. 1. "David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul waxed weaker and weaker." — (vol. i. p. 331).

Strauss, with some other very scrupulous critics, finds a difficulty in Jesus having been baptized by John, because it is said that those who were the subjects of that baptism *confessed their sins*. — (vol. i. p. 351). We apprehend that the moral sense of our critic will recover from the shock it has received in the apparent implication of Jesus in human frailties. Again, (p. 366,) Strauss asks — "if Jesus was miraculously attested at his birth, why should he have another attestation at his baptism." Let us put beside this question another equally abstruse; — if a tree bears fifty apples, why should it bear more than fifty?

The following is the summing up of the matter.

"Thus much seems to be historical: that Jesus, attracted by the fame of the Baptist, put himself under the tuition of that preacher, and that having remained some time among his followers, and been initiated into his ideas of the approaching Messianic kingdom, he, after the imprisonment of John, carried on, under certain modifications, the same work, never ceasing, even when he had far surpassed his predecessor, to render him due homage." — (vol. i. pp. 342-3).

"Thus we see that the life of John in the evangelical narratives is, from easily conceived reasons, overspread with mythical lustre on the side which is turned toward Jesus, while on the other its historical lineaments are more visible." — (p. 347).

In treating of Jesus as the Messiah, Strauss enlarges upon the seeming confusion of the narratives as to the ignorance or knowledge of the disciples that Jesus was the Messiah, and his own avowal of it to them, with a prohi-

bition to make it public. The most ready explanation of this confusion is presented on the face of the narratives, in the reluctance of the disciples to give up their preconceived views of the Messiah for such a substitute as Jesus offered, and in his own desire to guard against a premature popular tumult. Strauss concludes that the claim to be the Messiah was suggested to Jesus by others, and that he came slowly into it. The intimations in the Gospels that he assumed that character from the first, are thus accounted for: — "It is probable that evangelical tradition, enamored of the mysteriousness that lay in this incognito of Jesus, unhistorically multiplied the instances of its adoption." — (vol. ii. p. 13).

The accounts of the names, and the call, of the immediate followers of Jesus are allowed by Strauss to be for the most part very harmonious. Yet he applies to these his determined spirit of hypercriticism, and he finds in the whole matter only an embellished imitation of Elisha's call of disciples around him. — (vol. ii. p. 56). The story of the miraculous draught of fishes, Strauss compares to the supernatural knowledge which Pythagoras is said to have had of the number of fish caught at a certain time by natural means. — (p. 68).

The discourses and parables of Jesus are next commented upon, successively, at great length. Here again there is evidence of a most painstaking search after discrepancies, which, when found, are exaggerated and presented in a most unfavorable light. The spirit and contents of the Gospel of John are contrasted with the spirit and contents of the books of the three other Evangelists, and these latter are set at issue with each other and themselves. The object of the author is, to show that the writers have not given us an exact and methodical arrangement of the instructions of Jesus, but that one writer breaks the connection of a story, and isolates an incident, and divides a narrative, while another confounds and unites parts or the whole of two or more lessons spoken at different times and under different circumstances. In what spirit he must have read the sermon on the Mount, to have judged it worthy only of the reflections which he associates with it, it would be unpleasant to pronounce. There is, however, something remarkable in his conclusion. "The foregoing comparison shows us that



the discourses of Jesus, like fragments of granite, could not be dissolved by the flood of oral tradition; but they were not seldom torn from their natural connexion, floated away from their original situation, and deposited in places to which they did not properly belong."—(vol. ii. p. 109). The parables are commented upon to show that they are dissevered, dislocated, misplaced and confounded together, a piece of one being tacked to another, and the evidence of this chaos in the records is presented in a way to help out the main theory of the author, that tradition has wrought its legendary work upon original materials. The difference of illustration put into the mouth of the Saviour in indicating the power of faith, will serve as an instance. One Evangelist represents Jesus as proposing a mountain, another, as proposing a tree to be removed; "ye shall say to this mountain"—"ye shall say to this tree." Is there any overwhelming objection in supposing that he actually proposed both objects, thus—"ye shall say to this tree, or to this mountain"?

The Gospel according to John is the object of especial severity of criticism from Strauss, and is held by him in perfect contempt. The higher and more spiritual and more delicate apprehension which he, in comparison with the other Evangelists, seems to have had of the character of Jesus, has been in all times observed and has been satisfactorily accounted for; as, for instance, in Herder's beautiful essays, by referring it to the more sympathetic nature of John himself. But Strauss utterly rejects this natural supposition, and with a boldness of conjecture inconsistent with facts, he ascribes to John the conception and construction of the discourses which he attributes to Jesus. He finds "positive proof, that the discourses of Jesus in the fourth Gospel are to a great extent the free compositions of the Evangelist."—(vol. ii. pp. 170 and 178).

In treating of the miracles separately, the author aims to present their incredibility, and to show that they are ascribed to Jesus only because miracles were expected of the Messiah. He says "that in the preaching and epistles of the Apostles, a couple of general notices excepted, (Acts ii. 22. x. 38 &c.,) the miracles of Jesus appear to be unknown, and everything is built on the resurrection,"

(vol. ii. pp. 238, 239),—a sweeping assertion which the author himself would disprove, if it suited his purpose to do so. Underlying the argument of the whole chapter is the unphilosophical assumption of his philosophy, that a miracle cannot be. He attempts to invalidate the general explanation of demoniacal possession, as a phrase expressive of mental disorders; though the use of the word, demoniac, would no more prove that the Evangelists believed what it literally signifies, than the prevalence among us of the word, lunatic, would show that we regarded insane persons as struck by the moon. In the captious spirit of which we observe too many evidences in Strauss, he says that John does not mention demoniacs and their cure.—(vol. ii. p. 277). But John may include them generally under his comprehensive expression of “the diseased” of all kinds (John vi. 2,) and he twice uses the phrase—“having a devil,” in the same sense as do the other Evangelists. The cures of lepers are summarily dismissed by ascribing the accounts to a mythical imitation of like cases in the Old Testament, and by the remark, “I know not what we ought to need beyond these Old Testament narratives, to account for the origin of the evangelical anecdotes.”—(vol. ii. 283). This would be like accounting for the recovery of a sick man to-day, because of the recovery of a sick man three thousand years ago. The restoration of the blind and of the paralytic is also presented in each case, by some faint shadow of resemblance, as a mythical transfer of ancient legend. But the case related so particularly by John of the cure of a man blind from his birth, which was thoroughly investigated on the spot, is too much for the ingenuity of Strauss. We may say of this, as of other like narratives, it is either an authentic historical occurrence, or it is a bold and wilful falsehood. Mythology cannot help to decide in this alternative. Strauss devotes especial attention to “involuntary cures, and cures wrought at a distance,” which he compares to the account of cures wrought by Peter’s pocket-handkerchief. We grant they are all absurd and impossible, if man is the wisest and most powerful being in the whole universe; but they are as credible as the budding of a flower on a dry stem, if there be a God. The three instances of the resuscitation of the dead by Jesus are criticised. The tender and touching incident so artlessly mentioned by the Evangelist, that

Jesus on raising the son of the widow of Nain "delivered him to his mother," passes for nothing with Strauss, though it is almost a verification of the narrative. He thinks that another pretended resurrection was related of a humble individual like Lazarus, lest, if a more important personage had been selected, the question about his subsequent life would have been troublesome. Did our space permit, we should endeavor to show how extremely inconsistent with the mythical theory is the unadorned and particular relation of the whole intimacy of Jesus with the family at Bethany and of the circumstances which have made it memorable. The fact that the ministry of Jesus was around the Galilean Lake has given rise, says Strauss, to many "anecdotes relating to the sea." Walking upon the sea, too, was a famous feat among the miracle-workers of those days. As to the miracle of the money in the fish's mouth, Strauss quotes the orthodox Olshausen as admitting that it is the most difficult of the miracles. But why so? Why should this be so to one whose "faith does not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God?" It is this attempting to discriminate degrees of possibility in miracles, which has brought into being the very system of which Strauss offers the full fruits. Besides, as it is not said that the money was sought for or found, the words of Jesus may have defined an exercise of faith, like the words — "Say to this mountain, be thou removed!" The miraculous feeding of the multitudes, and the turning of water into wine, are scientifically examined; and an explanation of them is sought in every quarter except in that to which the Gospels refer them. And yet we do not know that it is any more difficult to accept those miracles, than it is to conceive that we are spinning through the air, day and night, on the surface of this rolling earth, at the rate of thirty-five miles each second.

The Transfiguration is presented first as literally described, then as the German rationalists have trifled with it, and finally as a mythical relation. The sentence pronounced upon it is embraced in the following remark, — "That the illumination of the countenance of Moses served as a type for the transfiguration of Jesus, is besides proved by a series of particular features." — (vol. iii. p. 18). The accounts of the last journey of Jesus to Jerusalem show

wonderful accordance even in details. The author, however, exhibits a remarkable pertinacity in searching out their light discrepancies.

The Third, and concluding part of the work discusses the "History of the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus." Here Strauss has a hard task. It may be that we read him with convictions of our own which are obstinate prejudices, but his whole strength appears but weakness weakly spent in his endeavor to turn into senseless fables the most solemn realities which ever transpired on this earth. With the slight variances of statement which are to be expected in independent witnesses, there is an astonishing harmony of incident and narrative and representation in the Evangelists in all that relates to these scenes. In the Gospel of John, we find from the earliest stages of the Saviour's ministry intimations of its suffering close. The three other Evangelists, consistently with their less sympathetic apprehension of their Master, gather these predictions with lessening dimness towards the time of their fulfilment. Strauss denies that Jesus had any fore-knowledge of his death, or that he quoted any passages concerning it from the Old Testament, and he asserts that there are no such passages there which he could have quoted. This whole subject is treated in a most lame, inconsistent, and tortuous manner, concluding thus:—"there were sufficient inducements for the Christian legend thus to put into the mouth of Jesus, after the event, a prediction of the particular features of his passion, especially of the ignominious crucifixion." These reasons were, that as it was "to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness," the offence might be cancelled by alleging that it had been predicted.—(vol. iii. p. 54).

Neither, says Strauss, did Jesus predict his resurrection. The proof alleged of this is, that the disciples had evidently given over all hope of it, and did not expect it after his death. But how frankly do the Gospels own, that they did not comprehend their Master, nor rise to the height of his calm faith! Strauss does not seem to consider that he is thus perplexing his own theory, and making it all the more difficult to explain how the Apostles could have invented, believed and propagated, pretended and alleged predictions of a story which was as strange to them as to

any one else. Strauss entirely discards the discourses of the Saviour relating to his "second advent." But his criticism is ineffectual. There the discourses still stand. Only one mouth could have spoken them.

In treating of the "Relation of Jesus to his Enemies," Strauss again fails most signally in endeavoring to perplex the clear and lucid, and self-convincing narrations of the Evangelists. On the treachery of Judas he has nothing new to offer but to turn it into a riddle, and he affirms that Jesus did not know or predict his betrayer. The difficulties found in the narratives relating to the last Supper arise from its connection with the Passover feast. Strauss says that John does not appear to notice the Supper. But is it not plainly implied in his narrative? The author, however, admits that at the last Passover Jesus had a presentiment of his death, suggested by the bread and wine in his hands; and on the testimony of Paul, he receives the institution of the ritual Supper.—(vol. iii. p. 176). The "agony in the garden" is represented as wholly mythical, with the single exception of the fact that Jesus may have then suffered some distress. In the criticism of the arrest, and examination before the High Priest, and the denial of Peter, the most trivial discrepancies are magnified, because there are no other. The death of Judas, as related, presents the conflicting statements, that his death was caused by suicide or by a fall, and that he or the rulers purchased a field with the price of his treachery. Such discrepancies give Strauss rich material; but they are of the very essence of historical narrative and of independent testimony. The mythical theory offers the least possible help towards explaining them. The accounts of the examination of Jesus before Pilate and Herod, and of the crucifixion, wonderfully harmonious as they are, afford, as the common reader well knows, slight materials for adverse criticism.

The author institutes an extended and keen examination into the narratives of the Saviour's death and resurrection, but he makes no addition to, and he certainly does not subtract from, the value of the many admirable discussions of the subject by Christian divines. The resurrection of Christ is an incident around which, in the very nature of things, there would gather bewilderment and enthusiasm,

which would appear more or less in the accounts of it. These, however, are signally conformed to the solemn conditions of the event which they narrate. Our author offers no satisfactory explanation of the stupendous cause which — excluding the resurrection of Christ — could have resuscitated his religion, or made it the religion for the whole world. For this involves as great a miracle as the resurrection of Christ. Strauss, referring to a passage in the Epistle to the Corinthians asserting the resurrection, which Epistle he allows to be “undoubtedly genuine, and written not thirty years after the resurrection,” says:—“On this authority we must believe that many members of the primitive church who were yet living at the time when this epistle was written, especially the apostles, were convinced that they had witnessed appearances of the risen Christ.”—(vol. iii. pp. 344, 345). The passages relating to the ascension of Jesus are subjected to the peculiar process which the writer pursues through his whole work, and we are thus brought to a concluding Dissertation on the “Dogmatic Import of the Life of Jesus.”

A large part of this Dissertation is unintelligible to us. As far as we comprehend it, it is a contrasted representation of the views entertained of Christ and the Church by Orthodoxy and Rationalism, with “the Last Dilemma,” which is a last dilemma in more senses than one, and which bears about as close a relation to the true theory of Christianity, as the Mormons, or Latter-day Saints, of our time bear to the first disciples. We find in the Dissertation a remarkable concession, and a remarkable assertion. The concession is,—“For the belief in the Resurrection of Christ is the foundation stone, without which the Christian Church could not have been built.”—(vol. iii. p. 423). The assertion is,—“Hence it is an evidence of an uncultivated mind [!] to denounce as a hypocrite a theologian who preaches, for example, on the resurrection of Christ, since, though he may not believe in the reality of that event as a single sensible fact, he may, nevertheless, hold to be true the representation of the process of spiritual life, which the resurrection of Christ affords.”—(vol. iii. p. 442).

We gather also from this Dissertation, and from the whole work, that the author considers that he has left of

Christianity the speculative conception, the original idea, which has been clothed over and embellished with myths from the time when it first had living reality and attraction for its receivers, as the foundation of a religion.

In passing judgment upon the general plan and execution of this remarkable work, and upon the theory which it advances, we must study brevity. The work is scholarlike and laborious, but its scholarship is of a singular and a peculiar character, and half of the labor which it has required, if spent in another direction, might have done more for the honorable fame of the author. We call its scholarship peculiar, not because it merely partakes of the peculiarity of the subject and the theory, but because the book from beginning to end is wholly constructed by the German pattern for Scriptural criticism. The author seems conscious of this local characteristic of his volumes. In a Latin letter introductory to this translation he says, "Books change their soil and sky with scarcely less of danger than do plants." And German criticism treats words and opinions and theories and institutions after the same manner as the old Dutch fashion of gardening applied to trees, plants and hedge-rows, — shaping roots into letters, converting nature's waving line of beauty into the painful distortions of art, and reducing the rules which God has appointed into methods which man prefers. That Strauss is a most accomplished scholar, and that he has toiled with an earnest industry upon every page of his work, there is overwhelming evidence. Yet we have encountered on every page statements which seem to us utterly inconsistent with the carefulness and deliberation, not to say the integrity, of the critical scholar. Some statements, too, appear to be made with an unbecoming and reckless spirit, such as might help to gain reception for his theory from an unwary reader, and which to some extent at least assimilate him, the professedly philosophical scholar, with the late blaspheming Robert Taylor, the author of the "*Diegesis*." A few out of many instances which would substantiate this censure are here presented.

Strauss in no single instance which we have observed, has acknowledged or improved that great principle established in the courts, in the forum, and in historical science, that in a comparison of independent witnesses and testi-

monies there will always appear some discrepancies, of more or less consequence, which no skill can reconcile, and which can be relieved only by being referred to the law of discord; for that there is such a law nature and humanity attest. Now wherever in two or more narratives Strauss does not find the matter literally the same, amounting in fact to a repetition, his uniform tendency is to exaggerate and pervert, rather than to pardon and allow. Thus, Strauss says, (vol. i. p. 91), that the flight into Egypt and the presentation in the temple "mutually exclude one another." And why? Certainly they would not, even if (which is not the case) they were related of the same week or month, for then the more natural supposition would be that some accidental error had crept into the one or the other record, than that an apostle of the truth had invented a falsehood. Then, again, the statement of the first three Gospels, that after his baptism Jesus was led into the wilderness to be tempted, is taken by Strauss "*as implying*" that he was not previously in the wilderness, though John, who baptized him, is said by Matthew to have exercised his ministry there.—(vol. i. p. 369). But is there not a centre and a circumference to a wilderness, and cannot one who has been on the edge of it, go in deeper? Strauss insinuates that Jesus had a design not purely spiritual, and that he did not intend to annul the Mosaic Law.—(vol. ii. pp. 29–32). He even finds indications that Jesus embraced only the Jews in his destined kingdom.—(vol. ii. p. 36). A strange conclusion to draw from Gospels which begin with a foreshadowing of a truth which brightens on every page, that the Gentiles were also called. He says that if Jesus had a supernatural knowledge that the woman of Samaria had no proper husband, he could not have been ignorant that she would have been disinclined to comply with the request to go and call him; so that Jesus is liable to the charge of dissimulation. He thinks it incredible, too, that Jesus should have addressed a woman of her character, on the great controversy between her people and the Jews about the place of prayer, as if she could comprehend or feel an interest in it. But is it not proverbial, that the meanest subject or citizen of a country is even passionately alive to its general controversies? The application of Strauss's theory to such life-like and vivid narratives as this,



is absolutely fatal to the theory. He says of it:—"The result, then, of our examination of John's Samaritan narrative is, that we cannot receive it as real history. The interview of Jesus with the woman is only a poetical representation [!] of his ministry among the Samaritans narrated in the sequel; and this is itself a legendary prelude to the propagation of the Gospel in Samaria after the death of Jesus."—(vol. ii. pp. 48, 49). We prefer the solid fact of history to this nest of boxes with a myth in the smallest of them. Again, Strauss says that Jesus encouraged the superstition that diseases were the punishment of previous sins, by saying to those whom he relieved—"thy sins are forgiven thee." Now this assertion is in direct contradiction of the truth; for the bodily disease was cured only to inspire confidence in the process by which Jesus would heal the soul. To meet the objection to his false view which Strauss encounters in the answer of Jesus—"neither was this man's sin nor his parent's the cause of his being born blind," he says that this answer applied only to the individual, not generally.—(vol. ii. p. 306). A strange tendency of the author to exaggerate incidental particulars into mountainous difficulties is apparent in the stress which he lays upon the assertion, that in the transfiguration "the clothes" of Jesus partook of the illumination which invested his body;—(vol. iii. p. 2.)—and the same tendency shows itself again in the same stress laid upon the close, literal meaning of Matthew, that Jesus rode upon both the ass and the foal at the same time.—(vol. iii. p. 34). We might multiply at great length instances of unscholar-like and unphilosophical criticism in the work before us.

If we have succeeded in developing intelligibly to our readers the grounds and attempted proof of Strauss's theory, they will conclude with ourselves that it looks for its support to the discrepancies in the Gospel narratives as conflicting with their historical character; to the possibility of ascribing to them an origin sufficiently removed from the time of the Saviour to allow of the incorporation of legends in them; to the incredibility of miraculous agency; and finally, to the plausibility of the mythical theory in explaining the fact of Christianity as working now in the world. We shall address ourselves, in conclusion, to each of the four conditions thus named.

As to the discrepancies in the Gospel narratives we need say but little, so much has been said elsewhere. We acknowledge their presence, their number, and the serious annoyance and anxiety attending them: we can but look for the best explanation of them, the most available method of relief. That which Strauss proposes, in accounting for conflicting incidents and statements by ascribing them to the forms which transmitted legends will assume, seems to us the least reasonable view which has ever been taken of them. For legends lose rather than gain in definiteness and in detail, and they omit altogether the very particulars of time, place and incident, which are so numerous, and are most discordant in the Gospels. The discrepancies which we encounter, are those which grow out of the confusion of memory, rather than from the falsehoods of imagination; they indicate the states of independent witness, rather than the invention of a whole community; they prove the strength of impressions received by different individuals at the same time, rather than the accumulations of a long interval. The difficulties of the Gospel narratives are most abundant and serious in reference to those very matters with which a myth would not concern itself. We can account for incidental confusion in dates, discourses, events, and especially in the order of succession and connection which they would have in the minds of different contemporaries, but he who has taste and skill to embellish is generally very shy of all dates and particulars, and omits them altogether.

The most satisfactory explanation of the discrepancies in the Gospels we believe to be found in the most rational view of the origin and construction of those narratives. All the circumstances of the case indicate that the Gospels are a transfer to parchment of the preaching of the Apostles. For thirty years their authors had preached their testimony to Christ, and had repeated his deeds and words, sometimes in each other's hearing, sometimes apart. They dwelt upon those facts, parables, or discourses which had made the deepest impressions upon them, and each represented the subject of his narrative in the light which it had, and in the shape which it bore, to the peculiarities of his own view of it. The Gospels were formed on the basis of the preaching of the Apostles. Hence on the one hand we

account for their resemblances to each other, and on the other hand for their discrepancies. And the same explanation applies to the peculiarity of tone and view in the Gospel of John. We find entire satisfaction in this solution of the difficulty. Of course it makes a "Harmony" of the Gospels, in the strictest sense of that word, utterly impossible; but it gives added value to those partially successful attempts which the authors of our best "Harmonies" have made. For it is a remarkable fact, that there are no difficulties in the Gospels of a nature to embarrass the teaching of Christianity from them so as to present a vivid and connected representation of the life and discourses of Christ as an historical character. There are no incongruities, no inconsistencies, in the four portraiture of that character. We may say what we will of the discrepancies in the Gospels; yet how freely and satisfactorily are those Gospels used, quoted, compared and harmonized by preachers and commentators. We allow that the thread of connection and the order of sequence are continually broken,—and that we have long discourses, and parables united, or repeated with variations, which are not to be presumed as spoken at the same time. If we may be allowed the liberty of such a comparison, we would suggest that the circumstances of the case before us somewhat resemble the accounts which three or four aged persons might write down of the life, character, discourses, good deeds, opinions, familiar sayings, and journeyings of a departed Christian minister whose labors they had shared, and whom they revered.

The manner in which Strauss has treated the discrepancies of the Gospels did not originate with, nor has it been favored by those who, while studying the Scriptures, have also applied and improved them. It is by verbal critics, not by Christian ministers, that these discrepancies are severely judged. The latter have searched the Scriptures as diligently as the former, but in a different spirit, and for a different use; they have made commentaries, expositions and practical applications of sacred lessons, and have found the task welcome and profitable. Many Christians have been troubled by the fact, that so much critical skill, acuteness, knowledge and argument have been thought necessary to clear up the difficulties in the interpretation of

the Scriptures. We will confess to having felt much pain and anxiety from the same source. But our trouble in view of the task required in substantiating the Gospels vanishes in view of any attempt to subvert them. Lardner has gone over more ground than Strauss, and we will confide the side which we prefer to the calm and judicious and most candid champion of the "Credibility." Why are not suppositions and explanations which tend to confirm faith, as rational and as allowable as those which undermine it? We have no disposition to conceal or deny the existence of serious discrepancies in the Gospels, but after spending more time in the study of these discrepancies than we ever again shall give to them, we are satisfied that either pure and fair criticism can explain them, or the reasons of the case will justify them.

The second condition needed in support of Strauss's theory is, that a sufficient space of time should have elapsed to allow of the fabrication and development of the Christian legend, and of its being attached to the person and ministry of Jesus. As a critic, he is well aware that the Gospels may be traced to the Apostolic age, and that this fact would be fatal to his theory, were it not that he could have recourse, as we have seen, to the preëxisting popular conception of the Messiah, and to the mass of legendary materials which were ready for use when an object for them should appear. But, not to advert to the far-fetched, and ill-fitting applications of this ingenious idea in almost every specific case in which Strauss puts it to the test, there is a vital objection to it which covers the whole ground it would occupy. Strauss saves time, but he wastes truth in this cunning resource of his theory. There *was* a preëxisting popular conception of the Messiah, but it was wholly different from that which was realized in Jesus Christ. There were promises and expectations which looked to him for a fulfilment, but they had received quite another interpretation than that which he gave them. Now it would have taken a longer space of time, to re-form and remould and essentially alter the Jewish conceptions of their Messiah so as to meet the humble and self-denying reality in Jesus Christ, than would have been necessary for the embellishment of his history out of newly invented materials. It is harder to teach a truth or a falsehood to a man

who has an obstinate prejudice, than to a man whose mind is perfectly free. The præexisting materials of Strauss were like hard mortar and old rubbish to one who wishes to remodel a building,—he would rather dispense with them altogether. If thirty or fifty years after the Saviour's death would not allow quite enough time for the honest and enthusiastic embellishment of the reality exhibited in him, it certainly would not have sufficed to convert the proud and glorious conceptions of Israel into legends which might readily be gathered around the despised and crucified prophet of Nazareth. Strauss finds the whole of Christianity in Judaism. Now if there be one single fact of history which is indisputable, it is that Jesus Christ did not meet the wishes of his nation; but, just the contrary, he disappointed them all. That the Jews would not have been inclined to interpret their Scriptures as to receive Jesus as their Messiah, in opposition to their own preconceived views of him, is sufficiently proved in the difficulty which has ever since been found in converting them to Christianity.

It would be necessary, too, in support of the mythical theory, to trace its development, to give the successive forms and accretions of the myth from its germ, through records of different dates, to the full and complete narratives which we read. This cannot be done. These successive forms must all be imagined; the chrysalis cannot be watched, no traces of its preliminary stages are left to us. The four Evangelists all occupy the same position, they tell the full and complete story. There is not a single fact represented as miraculous by one Evangelist, which is represented otherwise than as miraculous by another Evangelist.

Besides, another note of time and of contemporary incident is of vital importance here. Strauss attributes the formation of these myths about Jesus to the very age of early faith and martyrdom. Thus, according to him, when the Christians were dying for their faith, they were manufacturing its materials; miracles were invented by those who died to bear witness to them! This is a monstrous hallucination of criticism. Such construction of myths might furnish matter for exquisite diversions of fancy, but would hardly nerve the heart and sinews for the flames. If the

most exalted views of the heavenly commission of Jesus had not been verified to his first disciples, they would scarcely have thought of inventing such for any subsequent age. History and fact are at war with the theory of Strauss. Neither could the preëxisting conceptions of the Messiah have been modified to suit the circumstances of Jesus, nor could such a mass of legendary narrative have been invented and attached to him in the short time which intervened between his death and the composition of the Gospels.

We can bestow only the most passing notice upon the third condition required in support of this theory—the incredibility of miracles. It comes third in our arrangement, but it is assumed, as we have said, at the very outset by Strauss, as an axiom of his philosophy. We do not admit a philosophy which excludes a God. We believe, on good grounds, that the Christian era was a miraculous age. There is no difficulty in supposing, that in the physical universe the heavenly mechanism might bring round a cycle in which a year of miracle should intervene—causing two crops where now is one, or two summers without a winter. Philosophy may not deny what it cannot prevent. Just such do we regard the Christian era in the generations of men. That this was a miraculous age, many facts and testimonies and evidences do declare, while nothing but a philosophical objection can be opposed. The world and men's minds were then comparatively at peace. There was then no especial seeking after, or tendency to the miraculous. Whence did it arise? The fact that a very good or a very wise man then happened to live, was not enough to create a succession of supernatural legends; and certainly among the many deluded men of those times, there was no reason for singling out him who offered the least of tangible attractions, for the highest honor. The standards of that age were singularly prosaic. Then again, that that was really a miraculous age is significantly attested by the fact, that it was a martyr age. And once more, another testimony that the Christian era was an age of real marvel is found in the fact, that the next was an age of pretended marvel. It was an imitative age: but imitative of what? How had the miraculous become notorious, familiar, imposing, and au-

thoritative? But we must leave this more familiar ground of discussion, both as a question of philosophy and a matter of authentic history, and must hasten to the final condition which the theory of Strauss involves.

The plausibility of the theory which has been so laboriously advocated in this work might well engage attention independently of the work before us, for criticism and skepticism have for some time been alike pointing to it. The great objections to the theory as applied to the life of Jesus are, that it does not explain the facts with which it has to deal, nor meet the conditions on which it depends, nor solve the mystery involved in the Christian idea which it still leaves as a reality. The analogies which it must institute and seek to establish between Jesus and the mythical characters of antiquity, wholly fail. They had no features of resemblance to him—he had no features of resemblance to them. The mythical personages of antiquity are nothing but mythical personages. Their religions were all myths, and nothing but myths. They have no other commendation;—no essence of character; no stateliness of soul; no actual deed of life to commemorate, or even to authenticate them. The Olympic gods have left no trace of their presence, no institution of their worship. The apotheosis of the Roman Emperors was a farce of the State, in performing which the officiating priests could ill conceal their scorn at their own degradation. The idle legend of Plato's divine paternity tended rather to ascribe honor to the gods for such a son among men, than to dignify the philosopher with a participation in genealogies which involved beasts and devils with gods and men. Pagan religions needed myths, and invented them. Strauss indeed would involve the Old Testament with these foul religions, because of its free ascription of human features and passions to the Almighty. But is the Old Testament chargeable with this to the extent which is often allowed? Can anything be said to show that the old prophets used such language with any other view than to make it expressive and intelligible? Is there not an abundance of such language in the sermons and prayers of our own time, which affirm that "God sees"—"God pities"—"God smiles"? The simple self-designation of God in the Old Testament, "I am that I am!" at once distinguish-

es and elevates the Jewish religion immeasurably above all the mythical inventions of antiquity. But Strauss asserts, that at the Christian era Philo, and soon after him Josephus, and then the Christian Origen were divesting the Old Testament of its marvels. Is there not a strange inconsistency in ascribing to the same period the manufacturing of artificial wonders for the records of the Christian faith?

The inconsistency of this theory with the character and teachings of Christ might be exhibited at an almost infinite length. The story of Job and of the successive ill messages brought to him, might be taken as a type of the manner in which German criticism has treated Christ and Christianity. Job suffered all trials, as one by one the means of his happiness were wrecked; his troubles came in new forms, until they threatened his life and the integrity of his character. The vindication of that brought back all his blessings. So has it been, and so will it be, with Christ and Christianity. Their records have endured all trials and insults at the hands of critics, till it became necessary for them in support of their theories to impugn the character of Jesus Christ. That last venture will stay and retrieve the ruin. Let Jesus be acknowledged as an historical reality, and as pure from deception, and he will keep his place in human hearts. For all religious regard paid to him independently of his authenticated claims as a divine messenger, would be but idolatry — man-worship, — which, though it seem to exalt, will always in fact degrade its votaries.

The deeds ascribed in the Gospels to Jesus, and which Strauss would resolve into fables, constitute the historic credentials of his Messiahship. There is not an incident of his life which can be dis severed from the miraculous, and leave an image of identity or of reality. His miraculous deeds are inseparably blended with his words, which must be rescued from the mythical theory, if even an idea of him is preserved. The words, "Is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath day?" or "I am the light of the world!" are in fact a part of the miraculous acts which gave them significance. Even his simplest words, too daring and blasphemous for man to use, breathe out the spirit which God had breathed into him. What, on Strauss's theory, what shall



we say of words like these? "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father." "Behold, I am with you always." The *practicalness* of the character and religion of Jesus Christ, their close connection with deeds and duties, with the realities of every day life—with things which can be ennobled or made endurable only by the spirit which is infused into them, the actual, living interpretation of existence with all its exposures and conflicts—this is a feature of our faith and of its Author, which is most frequently insisted upon and set in every light, and it is utterly inconsistent with the mythical theory.

Again, there are embraced in the very essence of the Christian scheme, and in the character of Christ, certain great, world-embracing and eternal provisions,—such as the preliminary design, the pre-determined mission of Christ, the steps of preparation, the pre-arrangement of ages so that there should be a "fulness of time," the infinite compass of means, with its range over all climes, its invitations to all classes and generations. Now by the theory of Strauss a parallel might be instituted between Jesus and Mahomet, but it must be confined to what is merely personal in life, and it would fail on all these great facts. How shall we explain, that all the rays of anticipation and desire in the past converge to Christ; that in him, as a focus, they centre, finding just what philosophy and faith, just what sorrow and hope have needed to minister to them; and that from the same focus, as the ages lengthen on this side, these rays stream out again, meeting all the deep wants of man with the sweet benediction of the spirit of Christ.

Supposing the theory which we have now examined to be true, the appearance of Jesus under the aspect in which Strauss describes him, so far from resulting in a new religion which would be equally inviting to Jews and Gentiles, would have had the effect to confirm the Jews in their old religion, and to deter Gentiles all the more from having any connection with the people of Israel of a kind which would embrace them under one faith. Indeed, all the phenomena relating to the adoption of Christianity by the Gentiles, and especially the existence of the Epistles, which are for the most part of earlier composition than the Gospels, are inexplicable by this theory. The Gentiles

had no inclination to make and no disposition to receive myths about a Jewish Rabbi, and how could they receive the full Gospel?

The theory of Strauss presents to us most forcibly the disastrous influence of what is called philosophy, when set to serve another interest than religion. Piety has been often ridiculed for making a bug-bear of philosophy. But the fear is wise. Philosophy is the twin-sister of religion, but religion can never consent to bear the relation of a step-child to philosophy. Such speculations as those of Strauss could never have been learned in the school of Christ. It is certainly remarkable, that in a large book bearing the title of "*The Life of Jesus*" there is not one single tender sentiment, nor one tribute of reverence or respect to that holy and devoted Sufferer for our sakes. Neither the tender lament over Jerusalem, nor the raising of the widow's son, nor the last Supper, nor the agony in the garden, has power to draw a single sympathetic feeling from this young disciple of an atheistic philosophy, this boyish trifle with the hope and faith of civilized man.

As to the effect which will be wrought by this work of Strauss, prediction would be vain, and common sense and experience will indicate how far and how long its influence will spread. It raises the banner of infidelity for this age. Such a banner has been raised in every age, and after such banners have floated in their pride, they have faded and fallen, and been gathered in as trophies of the Christian faith. Some of the readers of this book will receive it as a new Gospel of unbelief. Over the nucleus of doubt existing in their own minds it will roll a mass of new deceptions and arguments, which will exclude from them the light of Christianity, leaving them the guesses of philosophy, and the reserve of Deism. Other readers will close the book with a feeling of relief, that they have found new confirmation of their faith in perusing the worst that can be said against it.

G. E. E.

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## ART. II. — THE TRUE IDEA OF PRIEST AND KING.

An Address delivered before the "Association of the Alumni of the Cambridge Divinity School," July 17, 1846. By WILLIAM B. O. PRASADY, D. D.

It is generally admitted that all moral and social changes are produced by ideas, suggested, diffused, and put in action; and the subject which I shall present to you, not as I wish, but as I can, is the true Christian idea of Priest and King, by which, when understood and received, our faith will regenerate the civil and religious world.

I find this great suggestion in the Scriptures:—it is intimated, that the Saviour's purpose is to make men "kings and priests to God." To many, these words bring up a vision of venerable men with robes and censers, standing by flaming altars, and of stately persons with crowns and sceptres, seated on golden thrones; for the external signs of worship and authority are more impressive, even in this age of the world, than the great realities of moral power and religious devotion. But such is not the impression which you will receive from those words; it was not such honors and blessings, that the religion of Jesus was to bring. The show of sanctity and the ensigns of earthly power were of small account in his estimation. When he rode in triumph to Jerusalem, saluted as their king by the multitude, he was so indifferent to what was passing, that his eyes filled with tears at the thought of that city's doom. We may be sure, then, that no elevation of this kind will be given to his followers when they are made kings and priests to God.

I am so desirous to point out the clear intimation of this great truth in the Scriptures, that I venture to bring before you an illustration, of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is often passed by as if it were antiquated and had lost its significance; I mean where he compares the Saviour to Melchisedec or the holy king. It may not be an argument to our age, as it was to his own; still it can give us light, and, I believe, inspiration too. We know little of that ancient person, who appears in the morning twilight of history like a shadowy and unsubstantial form, save that he was a priest, though of no sacerdotal order,

and a king, though his lineage and birth were unknown. His office and his ancestry are both shrouded in utter darkness, and yet the father of the faithful did reverence to him as a true priest and king. For, according to the idea of royalty in those simple times, the hand that swayed the rod of empire, lifted the sacrifice too. The most sacred head was esteemed worthiest to wear the crown, and the mightiest arm, the one to present the offering. So that in this illustration, which many pass lightly over, we find a rich and expressive meaning. It gives the death-blow to all those fancies of priestly succession and hereditary right, which have held the world in long delusion. It shows that a man is not made a priest by the laying on of hands; nor is he a king simply because a king was his father. He may bear the name of either office, and may exult in the imaginary distinction which it gives; Christianity has nothing to say to the title or the show, — so long as authority is not concerned, it allows men to plume themselves at will; but when we pass from words to things, where all distinctions must be founded on reality, the true king is one who has extensive influence, the true priest is one who is holy; and in truth, true holiness and power are one. In proportion to a man's excellence, is his influence with others. As God sees men, — and he sees them as they are, — the holiest are the mightiest. And whatever outward respect may be paid to outward elevation, the best man does, even now, bad as the world is, exert more power than any other; not *over* men certainly, but *within* them, which is better. His holiness is his means of influence; in his excellence of heart and life you find the secret of his power.

It is not necessary to explain, then, that the religious teachers of modern times are no representatives of the ancient priesthood; they are no more priests, in the technical sense of the word, than active and influential men are kings. But, taking the words in their widest sense, and according to the meaning which they are destined hereafter to bear, it is interesting to see what our Saviour considered the best training for these high stations; high, not in the world's estimation, but in the work which they who fill these stations are ordained to do. And it would seem that the foundations of his own holiness were laid in want and

sorrow. It was well said, that the priest must be one who can sympathize with others, "who can have compassion on the ignorant and on them that are out of the way, for that he himself is compassed with infirmity;" and if ever a spirit was formed by contending with hardship, his was the one; for it is recorded of him, that, "in the days of his flesh, he made supplication with strong crying and tears to him who was able to save." Having been tried in all points as we are, and remained faithful, as we have not, his heart beats in perfect sympathy with all the sons and daughters of grief. And he offers a confirmation of the truth, that there is no power over the religious affections of others, like that which suffering gives. Thus consecrated, the true man is a priest of God; he can lead others without resistance to the living waters where he has found rest to his own soul. If, as some believe, the laying on of human hands can invest him with authority, the laying on of God's hands can do more; yes, infinitely more.

The Saviour was in like manner prepared for his royal office; or, more properly speaking, to exert his kingly power. He was born in poverty; though descended from the ancient sovereigns of the land, he was so exceedingly poor, that he had not where to lay his head. And from what quarter is it that powerful spirits come? Not from kings' houses; not from luxurious homes. In early hardship and privation we trace the beginnings of almost all those characters, which have originated great reforms, accomplished wide works of love, and spoken with commanding voices to the hearts and souls of men. How natural then, that he who was to regenerate and redeem the race, should come from those places where spirits are best trained for life's battle and war; for there they form within themselves that energy which sweeps all feeble minds into its own mighty current, and thus assert and establish their supremacy as kings of men.

In the familiar experience of life we see it confirmed, that these things are so; and that any poor child of humanity may aspire to be priest and king; ay, "every inch a king;" for true sovereignty is not measured by the number of subjects, the strength of armies, or the reach of the kingdom's bounds. It depends on the power which one has with his fellow-men, to purify, elevate and inspire them,

and to lead them fast and far in that upward path which rises and shines to the perfect day. In every land, at this hour, there are humble men, undecorated with orders, whose steps never tread the courts of royalty, whose efforts are heralded by no applause, who are exerting an influence on those around them, and through them far into the crowd and deep into future ages, while he, who bears the name and state of sovereign, cannot effect a single purpose nor awaken a feeling in any human heart. The lowly shepherd of Salisbury plain had power in larger measure and in a far greater circle, than his liege lord and king; and that monarch owed what power he had to the public impression of his virtues, and not to his ancestry and throne. And the fisherman's daughter, Grace Darling, who went forth to the wrecked crew when the veterans of ocean dared not face the storm, did she not send a finer inspiration to the hearts of thousands, than England's youthful queen? If sovereignty were estimated, not by its gilded trappings, but by its substantial power, how many a crown would grow pale as stars in the daybreak; and many a lowly one would stand forth in a fulness of glory which he little dreams of now.

So, too, our observation shows that ceremonials do not make the priest, who stands between men and their heavenly Father, leading up their thoughts and prayers. We see that no external form can consecrate him, nor invest him with power in men's hearts. There was Heber, for example; and I name him, because he was able and excellent and deeply interested in the work which he went forth to do. But, sustained and honored as he was by the masters of the land, moving round with trains attendant, having wealth and authority on his side, and what was more, burning with a desire to teach Christianity to poor Hindostan in atonement for its thousand wrongs; what did he, or what could he do, compared with Schwartz, who went forth alone, supported only by his own fiery heart, with no treasures but those of heaven and only the authority of love? He sat with his hearers under a tree, which was his only cathedral, and spoke of God and the Saviour with an earnest and gentle voice. But how far his influence reached! How long his name was dear! How many of the great solicited his services! How bright in the

darkness shone his unpretending star! Though fervor and feeling were his only credentials, they gave him a name and a praise, before which thousands bowed down in grateful acknowledgment, and that injured land will remember them to the sunset of her latest day.

Such is the truth; conveyed in the prophetic intimations of Scripture, and confirmed by what we see in the world around us. And now the question arises,—how shall the world have the benefit of this truth? Some light on the subject, no doubt, there is. There was light in the creation before the sun was made. But we want a clear daylight; a bright sunshine, which shall make the path of duty plain, and shed the beauty of living holiness over this dark and sleeping world. For this purpose, there must be a strong comprehension of the truth which our religion pre-supposes to exist already in those who receive it; and that is, that man should aim to *be* rather than to *have*,—that our prosperity should be measured by what we are, not what we possess,—and that the greatest benefactor is not the one who supplies what we desire to have, but he who aids to make us what we should aspire to be. This is assumed as a maxim in all the teaching and appeals of Christianity; it was the basis of every inducement which the Saviour presented to his disciples. And therefore it is, that so many listen coldly to his offer to make them holy. They follow the bent of old habit, and ask the gift of salvation; counting gifts as everything, and holding character in but light esteem. So the child feels no gratitude to the faithful teacher, who endeavors to make something of his wild and shapeless nature, while his heart leaps up in thankfulness to some foolish relative, who supplies the means of self-indulgence, and thus destroys his health, his manliness, and perhaps his soul. But when he has gone far enough in life to see these things on the other side, he does justice to the true friend of his early days; for he sees, that what he mistook for kindness was a deep injury, and what he once thought severity was kindness indeed; and he sadly owns, that if he could have resisted the perpetual wish to have, and cherished the better desire to be something, his way of life would not have fallen so soon “into the sere and yellow leaf,” and he himself would not have been like the barren fig-tree, unblessed and withering away.

Yes; it is the great aim of Christianity, to inspire the love of excellence, and all the child-like and reverent affections which make man holy in preparation for another state. We judge wrongly of that state in our cold imaginations. It is not a dead level of existence; it is not like the repose of a frozen sea. So far as we may judge from analogies and intimations, there are distinctions there as well as here; there are those there, who shall sit on thrones, preëminent among the tribes. But while, in this world, these differences are built on outward show and standing, there they shall be founded on character alone. The seer of the Apocalypse said, "I saw no temple therein;" no place set apart for devotion, where all was overflowing with praise. And the royal priesthood are now forming for their heavenly service; they are passing through the reality of consecration. Their religious virtues are their garments of praise; their holiness, the clothing of wrought gold which shall array them. And when the glory of this world is faint and dim, the kingly man, formed in his Master's image and crowned with humanity and devotion, may step forward to receive that homage which was his right, but which never was paid him while he lived and suffered in this world below.

Again; in connexion with a discernment of this truth, that character is more than gifts or possessions, we must remember, that to be kings and priests, is rather a duty than an office or an honor; it is a demand on the conscience rather than an incentive of ambition. Whether power to influence others shall be a blessing and honor or not, depends on the manner in which it is used; but however this may be, it is within every one's reach. It is surprising to the close observer, to see how men, apparently powerless, are constantly influencing others; and very often their silent and unintended influence is greater than that which they are conscious of exerting. Some of those who hear me have uttered words at the suggestion of the moment, which they never thought of again; those who heard them were struck with their truth and weight; they repeated them to their friends and children, and they again to theirs, till no man could number the hearts into which your influence had gone down. And often, where "there is no speech nor language" and no voice is heard, a man,



simply by the divine right of excellence, becomes a ruler in the hearts of others; and while the pleading of the eloquent passes over them like rain-drops over marble, without even touching the stone, he is able, by some mysterious sympathy, to inspire and lead them with unresisted power, as they say that the ocean-like voice of a mighty instrument wakes in the small harp near it, notes that ring clearly in answer to every sound of its own.

Still more: it is every man's duty to be a priest. I mean, in character and influence; for such is the only priesthood known to our religion. The minister of the Gospel is engaged in the service of a particular religious society, who look to him for interpretations of Scripture, for explanation of principles and duties, and expect him to remind them of what concerns their peace, in immediate application to themselves. Within that circle it is not well, in general, for others to come. Their services, if unsolicited, may do more harm than good. But the field is the world, and the world is wide; and while the clergyman gives heed to those whom he is engaged to serve, and to as many others as possible, they too may offer that sacrifice of humanity and devotion, which is morning incense to the Most High. Sometimes we hear a dying voice speaking of eternal things; and the low whispers from those pale lips fall with profound impression on all within the darkened room; the earnest expression of every face, the eye suffused with tears, the affectionate interest in each one's manner, bear witness to the power of the dying. And are we not all dying men? Are we not hastening from this world to another, where our destiny depends on the characters we are forming now? Does not this invest every one with the power and the right to declare the counsels of God. Let no one hesitate to say what he thinks and feels on this subject, with his living or dying voice. His lips need not be touched with any fire, save that which burns within. Many a word, thus fitly spoken, has been treasured, like golden fruit seen through network of silver, its beauty and value increased by appropriateness of place and time. "Let him that heareth, say, Come;" let each be ready to welcome other laborers into the vineyard, for there is more than they all can do.

Again: we must remember, that king and priest must be

united, as they were in early ages. I do not mean the offices, but the characters, (for it is with these that our religion has to do;) that is, the holy man must exert a large influence, and the powerful man must be holy. Otherwise, the virtue of the one will be inefficient, and the world will be more injured than blessed by the influence of the other.

But it so happens, that the good man is often sensitive and fastidious. Having no ambition of display, he is rather disposed to retreat from the trampling crowd; and, meantime, as in civil life fools rush in and fill the places which better men should have, so in literature, morals, philanthropy and religion, those who have more confidence than fitness step forward and offer themselves as lights to the world. Therefore the good man should be reminded, that he has a duty to perform. As St. Paul says, he is a "debtor:" he is bound to his race; it is not left to his choice. Neither let him say, that he has not power to influence others; for in his own history he must have seen, that those who have exerted the greatest influence upon himself, have been, not the great and eloquent, but the excellent and upright; he can trace many of the best inspirations of his life to their humble example and heart-spoken words. He would find, in looking over this strange world, that goodness is unconsciously great, oftener than greatness is good. Indeed, excellence is a living power; it is efficient in itself. The keeper of the light-house has only to kindle the flame; it will shine of itself; sending forth its brightness to guide and bless the lost way-farers of the sea.

Very necessary is it, also, that the real kings of the earth, those who have large influence with their fellow-men, should have that religious principle and heaven-ward feeling which the name, priest, implies. For, even in the light of Christianity, it has not always been so. Many great intellectual and active men have profaned their gifts, revelling in wild self-indulgence, perfectly careless what injury they did to others, living, as if absolved from those restraints by which others are bound. Such indeed is the danger which attends all power; the consciousness of having it brings with it a feeling of independence, which needs to be watched and resisted. The voice of praise from without is echoed by self-flattery within, and if the world

is content to put up with talent in place of excellence, the man himself will easily dispense with virtues which it requires effort and self-denial to form. How many great men, of admirable powers, when you look into their lives, are found low, selfish and unworthy! But the world bears patiently with them. It even sustains, honors and defends them. And how is it to be expected that they should find out their own unsoundness, and condemn themselves. How many popular writers find multitudes of readers, full of enthusiasm for scenes and characters which would shock them, if the thin veil of lying sentiment which talent spreads over them were lifted away. Mere sacred names, too, are no security that the right principles and affections shall be there. There are great religious men, so called, who, with self-sacrifice always on their lips, are eminently selfish, and who, except in words, give no impression that they have known the faith of love! And many there are who proclaim themselves philanthropists, evidently feeling as if humanity would die with them, while to the eyes of others they seem possessed with that very spirit of selfish hatred and exclusion, out of which the social evils grow. Their admirers exalt them as the only stars in our dark sky; but if they are ordained to shine in the firmament forever, it will be like the red planet Mars, which kindles with fiery brightness, while it is the only one in which the telescope discovers vast regions of ice and snow.

But, without saying more of the union of priest and king, or rather, of holiness and power, let me add, that it is one of the chief advantages of that body of Christians with which we are connected, that they insist on character in its wholeness and harmony as the essential thing. Doctrines have their place, services and forms are not without their importance; but character assembles all else within itself, and where holiness is found, the demands of Christianity are answered. I do not mean to say, that, in practice, we lay more stress on character than other Christians; but they all appear to have something or other, by which a man may recommend himself to their good opinion and cover up the want of Christian principle within,—some creed which he can accept, some services in which he can engage, some transitions of feeling which he can pass through; by some profession he can gain their confidence

and be regarded as a Christian. While among us there is no livery nor veil, no Sabbath dress which one can wear as a disguise; if he has not religious principle, there is nothing to conceal the want of it from himself and others. And this is an eminent advantage: for if a man is not a Christian in reality, he cannot find it out too soon. So then, this want of uniform and marshalled array, though it makes against our numbers, though it gives our sect, if I must use the word, an aspect less imposing than that of others, may yet be of service to our souls.

This idea of the supreme importance of character is the substance of Unitarianism. When we hope that our principles may prevail, it is the same as desiring that character may be regarded, above all professions, as the chief element of faithfulness in this life and salvation in the other. It is often said that Unitarianism is dying away: and if by that is meant the party, one could wish it might be true; because our party, like every other, came into existence for a purpose, and Divine Providence never suffers anything, not even a red leaf to fall, till the purpose for which it exists, has been answered. If therefore, the Unitarian sect is passing by, it conveys the glad tidings that its warfare is accomplished and its work is done; in other words, that the world are receiving this great truth of the transcendent worth of character, and need no longer to have it pressed upon them by an active and earnest party. But even if our sect were dissolved, its voices silent, and its records scattered to the winds, still Unitarianism, by which I mean this principle in question, that character is all in all, and that the want of it is want of everything, can never perish so long as the Gospel of Christ endures. It has already spread fast and far: other sects are looking less to what a man professes, and more to what he is. And the time is coming, when the follower of Jesus in heart and life, with whatever religious opinions, will be acknowledged by Christians as readily as he is now accepted by his Master and his God.

Let us then remember and maintain this truth to the full extent of the words, "The kingdom of God is within you." Let us hold it forth as the great aim and effect of religion, to make men priests and kings indeed; inspiring them with a love of holiness and giving them power in the hearts of

men. Suffer them not to think of outward gifts and blessings in place of principles and affections; for the strait and narrow path of holiness alone leads to the offices and honors which Jesus Christ bestows. The sceptre and the crown are within; the coronation and the investiture are not seen by human eye. In the heart shall the throne and altar be established, and there shall the kingdom and the glory come. While the Christian labors in his humble sphere, unknown and unhonored of men, the eye of the angel sees the corruptible within him putting on incorruption, and the mortal immortality; and while his strong heart bleeds with the sorrows of his pilgrimage, the seraph's diadem, unseen by the world, surrounds his manly brow. May all the words of heaven which speak of blessings and honors, remind us of invisible things. Let us look, "not at the things that are seen, but at those which are not seen." Because they are unseen, they have less attraction for us now; and yet if they were visible, they would be dust and ashes; but because they are invisible, they endure forever.

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### ART. III.—ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRINITY.\*

THE very curious and interesting work named below, — important too, as contributing to a knowledge of Christian history and the ideas underlying it, — forms part of a collection of Inedited Documents on the history of France, published by order of the King, under charge of the Minister of Public Instruction. It belongs to the third series of the collection, entitled *Archæology*. The specific title of the series, "*Iconographie Chrétienne*," indicates its nature, that is, a description of artistical delineations and images derived from Christian monuments, — existing in statues, or found in paintings on glass, in mosaics, frescos etc. The present volume is confined to representations of God, or the several persons of the Trinity, and is to be

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\* *Iconographie Chrétienne. Histoire de Dieu.* Par M. DIDRON, de la Bibliothèque Royale, Secrétaire du Comité Historique des Arts et Monuments. Paris. 1843. 4to. pp. 624.

followed by a further publication containing representations of angels, the Virgin Mary, saints and martyrs, the devil, symbolical figures in the Apocalypse, and the like, — beings real or imaginary. The author, M. Didron, one of the superintendents of the Royal Library of Paris and secretary of the Historical Committee of Arts and Monuments, exhibits learning and diligence competent to his task, and received ample assistance from men versed in antiquity and the arts. The volume contains one hundred and fifty well executed engravings, all taken from authentic monuments, and accompanied with an explanation, or sort of running commentary in which are given dates, localities, and whatever is needed to a thorough comprehension of the subject.

Some idea of the richness of the materials used by the author, and their sources, may be formed from facts stated in his Introduction. Thus, after observing generally that between the ninth and seventeenth centuries Christianity caused to be sculptured, chiseled, graven, painted, woven (as in tapestry) an innumerable multitude of statues and figures, in cathedrals, parish churches and chapels, in collegiate institutions, abbeys and priories, he specifies particular churches which are ornamented by two, three, and even four thousand statues in stone, and others, and some of the same, which contain three, four, five thousand figures painted on glass. Every old church, however small, contained some; and the subjects of all, with few exceptions, were religious. Though the number of these ornaments is now much diminished by the injuries of time, by violence and accident, yet in some of the churches they still exist entire, and in others a great part remain. Then the manuscripts of the middle ages furnish many materials for the copyist's and engraver's art, of use in such a work. Not satisfied with what could be collected from these sources, however, M. Didron travelled extensively in Italy and Greece, proceeding as far as Constantinople, and appropriating to his use whatever he found, suited to his purpose among the relics of ancient Christian art, in catacombs, on sarcophagi, and elsewhere.

The object of M. Didron's volume is not to illustrate theology, nor to trace the development of religious ideas or doctrines, through the remains of Christian art; not, strictly speaking, to exhibit the influence of theology upon art; but

to give a history of the results of the art of representation (*l'art figuré*) viewed chronologically in its various phases as employed on religious subjects and modified by Christian ideas. That is, his design is wholly artistic. This renders his production only the more valuable for the purpose to which it may be applied by the theologian, and especially the student of Christian history and antiquity, since he writes with no sectarian views, and as the advocate of no theory. To be sure, his work comes out under Catholic auspices, and he is careful not to offend the prejudices of the Church. He everywhere recognizes the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity. Nothing could be further from his thoughts than to furnish materials by which the modifications which this doctrine from time to time received, or the tendencies of practical and speculative minds on the subject, might receive illustration; yet this he has in some sort done, and the evidence thus incidentally furnished from authentic sources will be used by the future historian of the doctrine. It is not our intention at present, however, to consider the work under this aspect. Nor shall we enter into any discussion on the purpose for which painting and statuary were originally introduced into churches, erroneous as M. Didron's views appear to be on this subject, but shall content ourselves with stating, in the briefest possible manner, a few general facts relating to representations and symbols of the Divinity (Father, Son and Spirit) in Christian works of art.

There are no early artistic representations of the Father, — none, Didron says, before the twelfth century. The early artists put the Son in his place in scenes connected with Old Testament history, being restrained by reverence from an attempt to give an image of the Father. When the Father is first introduced, only a hand, extended from heaven or from the clouds, and indicating his presence, is visible. This is sometimes rayed and the fingers are open to express the Divine favor dispensed upon earth, and sometimes it has the form of benediction,\* or holds out to

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\* In the Latin form of benediction the three first fingers, or two fingers and the thumb, are open, and the other two shut; in the Greek form the index or first finger is open, the second and little finger slightly curved, and the thumb crosses the ring finger, thus producing a figure somewhat resembling the Greek monogram of the name of Christ. In the study of works of Christian art these matters, seemingly trifling, are of some importance.

the Son the triumphal crown. Sometimes the hand is neither rayed nor *nimbed*, a term we shall presently explain. In a Greek fresco of comparatively recent date it is represented as elevating the souls of the just to heaven.

Thus far the honor due to the Father as the Supreme, Invisible, Eternal One, is in a manner preserved. His person does not appear. Art is reverential; it has not yet attempted to depict his features, nor represent his form. Only a hand is visible, extended to direct, and support the Son, and reach out to him the crown of life, the recompense of virtue. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Father ceased to be represented exclusively by the hand. First appeared the face reposing on a cloud, then the bust, and lastly the whole figure. The face does not at first appear in the proper lineaments of the Father, but under the features of the Son. Before the expiration of the period just referred to, artists began to introduce some change into their representations. From being identical as at first, the Father, at the close of the fourteenth century, gains in age on the Son and has specific features; his figure, too, becomes more round and portly. At one period the two appear as elder and younger brother, but finally the Father assumes the form of an old man, the Son of a man in mature life, and the Holy Spirit of a youth. This was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though still there was not an entire uniformity, the Son occasionally, as also the Spirit, taking the age of the Father.

Sometimes the Father appears with the imperial or kingly crown; sometimes in the habit of the Pope with the triple tiara, especially in Italy. The French disliked this, and added two crowns more, making five, one above the other, to indicate that the Father was superior to the Pope! Under the figure of the Pope the Father became a decrepit old man. At the revival of letters and arts degrading images were gradually banished; the Father assumed a more dignified and sublime form, that of a serene old man, the "Ancient of Days." Finally he came, in the farther progress of ideas, to be represented by his name only, Jehovah, in Hebrew, inscribed in a triangle surrounded with a glory.

In proceeding to speak of the representations of the Son in works of Christian art, we will begin with an observation



of Didron, that Christendom has not erected a single church specially to God, the Father, but a large number to the Son under the names of the Holy Saviour, the Holy Cross, the Holy Sepulchre, and the Resurrection. The cathedral of Aix is dedicated to the Holy Saviour, that of Orleans to the Holy Cross. The celebrated church of Florence, where repose the ashes of Dante, Michael Angelo, Machiavel and Galileo, bears the name of the Holy Cross. Churches of the Holy Sepulchre are common in France, and at Cambridge and Northampton in England are two circular churches having the same name. At Paris there is one dedicated to the Infant Jesus. Didron further remarks, in this connexion, that when preachers name the Father or the Spirit there is not the least movement on the part of the auditors, but when the Son is named you will see men bow the head and the women cross themselves. It is a singular fact, he adds, that while Newton never heard the name of God pronounced without taking off his hat, no one now thinks of uncovering his head on hearing this name, but however little religion one has, he never hears the name of Christ uttered without showing marks of profound respect. In the Apostles' Creed, it is remarked, that four words only relate to the Spirit, nine to the Father, while five entire propositions concern Jesus Christ, much the larger part of the Creed. Proofs might be multiplied, says Didron, to show that the Son has been more honored than the Father. We do not think that his reasoning is altogether sound, though a portion of his remarks are perfectly true. The fact that portraits of the Son existed earlier than portraits of the Father, does not, we should say, prove that the latter was less honored, but more, for it was their reverence for the Father, and dread of idolatry, which prevented Christians from exhibiting him under a human image. In the middle ages, however, there is certainly some ground for the charge, that the Son is exalted at the expense of the Father. When they appear together, the Son often occupies the post of honor; and when their statues are used as ornaments of churches, the Father is thrust away in corners, or placed in situations exposed to the wind and rain, while a thousand tendernesses are lavished on the Son; he has all the honors and all the triumph. The angels even are often better provided for than the Father.

The earliest portraits of the Son represent him at full length, under a beautiful form, that of a noble youth, without beard, of a winning figure, from fifteen to eighteen years of age, with long and abundant hair flowing in ringlets over his shoulders, — sometimes adorned with a diadem or fillet on the forehead, as a young priest of the Pagan gods. This was long the cherished figure, affectionately caressed by art.

At what precise period portraits of the Saviour first appeared, it is impossible to say. The Gnostics painted and sculptured him in all dimensions and forms, and it is maintained that to them we owe the first portraits or statues of Jesus. Various traditions, entitled, however, to little respect, refer to Christ as having been represented by sculpture and painting from the very dawn of Christianity. The Letter ascribed to Lentulus, addressed to the Senate and People of Rome, and professing to give a minute description of his person, is without question a forgery, and there is no reason for supposing that any authentic likeness of him was preserved. Augustine asserts that in his time there was none. The earliest fathers of the Church, conformably with a passage in Isaiah (liii. 2,) believed him to have been of mean appearance. In the fourth century, however, he is represented as described above, a youth of extraordinary beauty and majesty. Didron remarks as a curious fact, that in the series of monuments, in proportion as the person of Jesus advances in age, that of the Virgin, represented as old in the catacombs, grows young. Instead of forty or fifty as at first represented, she becomes at the end of the Gothic period (the fifteenth century) not more than fifteen or twenty. In the thirteenth century they appear of the same age, about thirty or thirty-five.

The earlier artists, as appears from the figures sculptured on sarcophagi, or exhibited in fresco, or on mosaics, sought to embody in the Son their ideal of perfect humanity in the form of a beautiful youth, as the Pagans represented Apollo, and Christians painted angels. A Roman sculpture of the fourth century presents him as seated in a curule chair, as a young senator in his robe and toga, without beard, the right hand extended and open, the left holding an open volume or roll. But this is something unusual. Down to the tenth century Christ continues to

be most frequently represented as a young man without beard. There are, however, during the same period many portraits of him in tombs and catacombs, and elsewhere, which present him as at the age of thirty and bearded. The latter part of the tenth century with the eleventh formed the transition period. This was a period of terror and barbarism, a hard, iron age, an age of war and violence, which would hardly content itself with the old representations of Christ as a youthful God, who healed all infirmities, solaced all miseries, and smiled benignantly on all. The portraits of him now begin to assume a severe and inexorable aspect. The beautiful and affecting emblems and imagery suited to him in the character of the good Shepherd, so faithfully preserved in the earlier ages, disappear. In addition to the barbarism of the times there was now a general expectation of the approaching end of the world and the final judgment, and Christ becomes the austere Judge. Some of the portraits of him are terrible. Milder features are still sometimes retained in places where gentler manners prevail, but these become more and more rare. The good Shepherd is now changed to the "King of tremendous majesty." He is now insensible to the prayers of his mother who is placed on his right hand, and of the beloved disciple, and John the Baptist, his precursor, who occupy a position on his left, and sinners have nothing to hope. Artists selected the scene of the last judgment as their usual subject. In some Byzantine frescos Christ appears seated on a throne surrounded by angels who tremble at the maledictions he pours forth upon sinners. He is not only judge, but he executes the sentence he pronounces. The words of condemnation have no sooner passed his lips, than a river of fire is seen issuing from the throne and swallowing up the guilty.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries exhibit Christs of remarkable sadness. The "*ecce homo*," — behold the man — crucifixes, descents from the cross, Christs in the tomb, are now the reigning mode. The progression is singular. In more primitive monuments we see the cross, but not the crucified. Some crucifixes appear in the tenth century — one earlier, but the crucified retains his winning and benevolent features, and is clothed in a comely robe which leaves only the extremities visible. In the eleventh

and twelfth centuries the robe is shortened and contracted, and the sleeves disappear, leaving only a sort of tunic. This becomes as short as possible in the thirteenth century; and in the fourteenth all that remains is a piece round the loins, as it now continues in the representations of Christ on the cross. At the same time the countenance bears more and more the marks of physical suffering. The contrast between these later portraits and the earlier Christs represented as triumphant, and clothed with beauty and having an expression of ineffable sweetness, is sufficiently striking, and marks the change which had come over theology, for art exhibited the reigning theological ideas. At the revival of art Michael Angelo rescued Christ from the pitiable condition in which he had been placed by preceding artists, though his piece, (the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel,) is open to severe criticism.

In the attitude and accompaniments of the figures representing Christ in works of Christian art there is every possible variety. He is now seen treading under foot the lion and the dragon, and now Death, which he holds chained; he now appears in the vestments of an archbishop, with the archiepiscopal crown on his head, and now riding triumphant among the angels on a white horse; now showing his wounds to the Father and receiving his blessing; now in the form of a lamb with the nimbus and cross, and now of a lion; now as the good Shepherd, on the older monuments, and in a multitude of other characters and positions.

The *glory*, or *nimbus*, in itself does not distinguish the Son from a multitude of other personages; and even the nimbus with the cross traversing it does not distinguish him from the Father and the Spirit. We must here explain a little, and though the remarks we are about to introduce may appear to some to be a digression, they relate to a subject, some knowledge of which is necessary to a full comprehension of works of Christian art in past ages, and of copies or engravings of them frequently met with in books, and elsewhere.

In the symbolic art, as it stands connected with Christian monuments, the *glory* occupies a conspicuous place. When it surrounds the head merely, M. Didron calls it a

*nimbus* ; \* when it surrounds the whole body, an *aureole*. Both together constitute the glory in its completeness.

In familiar language we speak of individuals as covered, or environed with glory, when they have distinguished themselves by great actions, or sublime efforts of intellect. Alexander, the conqueror of Asia, Cæsar, the master of Europe, Aristotle and Plato, who ruled in the realms of mind, Homer and Virgil, whose works have fired all imaginations, Vincent de Paul, whose zeal inflamed all hearts, Phidias and Raphael, who produced chief works in sculpture and painting, — these, and a multitude of others, are described as surrounded with glory. This mode of speech has been always common. By a similar figure we speak of the great suns of the Church, or suns in the world of intellect. To render this glory visible to the eye, the artist, the sculptor or painter, makes use of material light. So God in the Old Testament is described as surrounded by a visible glory, or *Shekinah*, and is symbolized by fire or flame.

Such is the nature of the glory. Its material element or representative is fire or flame radiating light or brightness. Thus the Hindu divinities are represented as environed with luminous rays as of fire. And so the devotees of Buddha appear in some books found in the Royal Library of Paris. By the Greeks, Romans, and Etruscans, the constellations represented under a human form are encircled with rays or luminous figures exactly similar to the nimbus and aureole of Christians. Among the modern Persians, the Arabs and Turks, the heads of sacred personages, representing the good or evil principle, are surmounted by a pyramid of flame. Didron appeals to numerous facts, historical, legendary, and poetic, to show that such was originally the nature of the glory ; — it was represented by the subtle, penetrating, powerful element of fire or flame. So the sun among the ancients was regarded as the visible symbol of God, and the Pharaohs of Egypt and other royal personages are called indiscriminately children of the sun and children of God, and by way of distinction the rays of the sun were transferred to their heads in the form of the nimbus radiating light. This was

\* The figure is then said to be *nimbed*. The term, as we have seen, is sometimes applied to the hand.

the glory. Its use was coeval with the most ancient religions, as the primitive Hindu monuments show. Its native country was the East, and it may be traced down through Egyptian, Grecian and Roman times, till it finally passed into the Christian Church. This was not, however, till some centuries after Christ had ascended. During these early centuries the Church was engaged in struggles and persecutions. It was laying and strengthening its foundations, not applying itself to the embellishments of art. When the time came, it laid Pagan antiquity under contribution to supply its needs. It borrowed its artistic and æsthetic forms from that. By the aid of lustral water it transformed the Pagan basilica into a Christian church. This was in some sort matter of necessity. But the nimbus, or glory, which had adorned the heads of persecuting emperors and false gods, it would not be in haste to adopt. This ornament is seldom found in the catacombs in fresco, or on sarcophagi. Not only the Apostles and saints, but the Virgin and Jesus Christ himself are represented without any insignia of this kind. Before the sixth century Didron asserts that the nimbus does not appear in any authentic Christian monument. The seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries constitute the transition period between its entire absence and its constant presence, and it disappeared at the end of the sixteenth. The aureole, or circle surrounding the body, went through similar vicissitudes with the nimbus, but appeared later and disappeared earlier, and was of much more infrequent use.

We must add a few words of the form, application and significance of the glory, comprehending both the nimbus and aureole, as used by Christians. The nimbus is generally circular, and in the form of a disc, the field of the disc sometimes disappearing and only the circumference remaining in the form of a ring. Sometimes it is divided by concentric circles into two or three zones which admit of a great variety of ornament. To the end of the eleventh century the disc was transparent; thence to the fifteenth it acquired thickness; it went through some other changes, a knowledge of which assists archæologists in ascertaining the age of manuscripts and relics of works of art. We meet the nimbus also in the form of a square or a parallelogram, and occasionally, in later monuments, of a triangle;

sometimes a double triangle, or two triangles intersecting each other, five points only being visible, the other being concealed behind the head. Didron gives a specimen of the single triangle, rayed, and surrounding the head of the Father, taken from a Greek fresco at Mount Athos and belonging to the seventeenth century. This form, which is rare in the religious monuments of France, is frequent in Italy and Greece, commencing with the fifteenth century. The nimbus, or glory, is distinguished from the crown, to which it bears some analogy, in being placed vertically on the head, the crown horizontally. When applied to either of the persons of the Trinity, the circular nimbus is always, except occasionally from accident or from the ignorance of the artist, divided by four bars crossing each other at right angles in the centre, thus forming a Greek cross, the lower bar, however, disappearing behind the head.\* It is

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\* Of the cross there are four species, — the cross without a summit, represented by the letter T, which was the form of some of the ancient churches; the cross with the summit and one transverse bar; with two; and with three. The cross with four branches, or arms, which is the most common, is of two kinds, which again exhibit several varieties. The Greek cross is composed of four equal bars placed at right angles and capable of being inscribed in a circle. It is this, which is placed in the nimbus or circle, which marks the Divine personages. The Latin cross has the foot, or lower part of the shaft, longer than the upper part and longer than the arms. It is represented by a man standing with his arms extended. This, of course, cannot be inscribed in a circle, but requires a parallelogram. On the difference Didron remarks thus. "The Latin cross resembles the real cross of Jesus, and the Greek, an ideal one. So the Latins, greater materialists, have preferred the natural form; the Greeks, more spiritual, have idealized the reality, have poetized and transfigured the cross of Calvary. Of a gibbet the Greeks have made an ornament." Originally the two types or forms were common to the Greek and Latin Churches, but afterwards one predominated in the East and the other in the West; hence the names. Many of the Oriental churches have the form of the Greek cross; the form of the Latin has had the preference in the West, though neither form has been closely adhered to in sacred architecture. The cross of St. Andrew differs from the Greek cross in having its bars intersect each other obliquely, forming a figure resembling the letter X.

The cross is sometimes ornamented, and sometimes interlaced, so to speak, the monogram of the names of the Saviour, — the Greek *chi* (X) and *rho* (P), the first two letters of the Greek word for Christ, and the *iota* (I), the initial of the Greek word for Jesus, — being united with the Greek or Roman cross, or cross of St. Andrew. These are sometimes enclosed in a circle or square, and sometimes not. The first and last letter of the Greek alphabet, the alpha and omega, are sometimes added, and sometimes branches of palms indicative of victory. Some of these figures are very beautiful. They frequently appear on works of Christian art in the early ages, on sarcophagi, and in catacombs, on monuments of

sometimes rayed, and at other times not; in some cases the rays appear without the circular line as their base; they are sometimes unequal, and sometimes equal, exhibiting the form of a star. The colors employed are various. They are blue or azure, violet, red, yellow and white, the yellow, or color of gold, being the most noble and expressive,—gold, its type, being described as “light solidified.” The color as well as the form of the glory, or nimbus, is often symbolical.

The application of the nimbus, or glory, among Christians appears to have been governed by no very rigid laws. It decorated the persons of the Trinity, represented singly or united; angels, prophets, the Virgin Mary, saints and martyrs; it is occasionally assigned to the virtues personified, to allegorical beings, and to the powers and affections of the human soul; sometimes, but rarely, to the representatives of political power, to the forces of nature, the sun and moon, the winds, the four elements, the cardinal points, day and night (personified) and even the genius of evil, Satan.

Its significance varies with time and place. According to the ideas prevalent in the West it is an attribute of holiness—divinity or saintship—as the crown is of royalty. It is somewhat different in the East. Among the Orientals the nimbus was used to designate physical energy as well as moral force; civil or political power as well as religious authority. Thus in a Turkish manuscript in the Royal Library of Paris, Aureng-zebe wears the nimbus, or glory. In the West, with few exceptions, a king, emperor, or magistrate, never appears *nimbed*, unless canonized, or exalted to the rank of a saint.\* The Pagan idea continued to prevail in the East, according to which the glory was an attribute of power, not of holiness. The Oriental Christians indeed were exceedingly prodigal in the use of the glory. While those of the West reserved it chiefly for God and the

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the dead, where they are far more appropriate than many of the emblems of Heathen origin, which greet the eye in our modern cemeteries. We might add other particulars relating to the form, ornaments and use of the cross, but we have already too far extended this note.

\* It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that the absence or presence of the nimbus does not deny or express saintship after the commencement of the fourteenth century. After this period it loses its importance, and is given or withheld somewhat arbitrarily.



saints, restraining it to qualities of the soul, rarely extending it to physical properties, or mere intellectual energy, or force used for evil, it is not uncommon in the East to see it applied to any individual in any way distinguished, to a virtuous man and a criminal, to archangel and devil, to whatever, in fact, was famous, or put forth mighty energy whether for good or for evil.\*

But we must return to what constitutes more properly our present subject, and proceed to say a few words of the artistic representations of the Holy Spirit. The Father, says Didron, is the God of Power, the Son the God of Love, and the Spirit the God of Love in theology, but God of Intelligence in history, — distinctions of some importance in their relation to Christian works of art. By Scripture, legend, and history, by works of art in France, Germany, Italy and Greece, Didron affirms that it may be proved, that the Spirit is the God of reason, that is, addresses, directs and enlightens the reason, and thus it is represented as holding a book.

Monuments, as churches and convents, dedicated to the Spirit are fewer than those dedicated to the Son, but more

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\* In illustration of the profuse use of the glory among the Greek Christians, a Greek Psalter is mentioned, deposited in the Royal Library at Paris, adorned with numerous curious and very beautiful miniatures, in which the nimbus appears on a great multitude of heads belonging to personages real and allegorical, good and bad. Among the allegorical personages which serve to explain the history, are Wisdom and Prophecy standing at the side of David as two great genii habited in female attire; in his penitence he is assisted by the genius of Repentance; in slaying the lion by the genius of Force. So Night looks down upon the calamity of Pharaoh as his host is drowned in the Red Sea. All these allegorical personages are adorned with the nimbus or glory of various colors, as are prophets and kings also, and of the latter the worst as well as the best, — the suicidal Saul, and Pharaoh, the impious king of Egypt, at the moment when he is engulfed in the abyss, — to the latter a nimbus of gold being assigned. So too the monster Herod is represented with the nimbus on a mosaic executed by a Greek artist, the scene portrayed being that of the massacre of the Innocents. In a small church at Athens in which the Supper is painted in fresco, Judas wears the glory as well as the other Apostles, though the color is black to designate his treachery. In an old Bible adorned with miniatures belonging to the ninth or tenth century, Satan is twice represented in the presence of Job, whom he is torturing and over whose calamities he laughs, encircled with the glory or nimbus, such as a guardian or consoling angel would wear. And in an Apocalyptic manuscript with miniatures, referred to the twelfth century, the dragon with seven heads combating Michael, the serpent with seven heads pursuing the woman into the wilderness, and the beast of the sea, wear a nimbus of green or yellow, like the saints of Paradise. The manuscript appears to be of Byzantine origin.

than those appropriated to the Father. A similar remark may be made of artistic representations of it. These are various in form, but are not characterized chronologically like the representations of the Father and Son. The artist in portraying the Spirit seems to have consulted chiefly the taste of his country, or his own fancy. As a general remark we may observe, that down to the eleventh century the dove was the usual symbol of the Spirit, then the honor was divided between the dove and the human form. But to this form no given age, or period of life, is assigned. Thus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it appears of the age of thirty or forty years, while in subsequent centuries it appears of all ages from that of an infant of a few months to that of an old man of sixty. Whether in the form of a dove or man, the Spirit usually has the nimbus with the cross inscribed, but this emblem or ornament is sometimes omitted, and sometimes the Spirit itself has been forgotten by the artist in scenes in which its presence would seem to be particularly appropriate, as in representations of the Feast of Pentecost.

The three personages, the Father, Son and Spirit, are often grouped in works of Christian art. Thus the whole Trinity appears. This was not very early, as the Trinity in its complete form was of late growth. There exists no really complete group of the Trinity in the catacombs, or on the ancient sarcophagi. We frequently meet with Jesus, but he is either isolated or accompanied by the dove, emblem of the Spirit; or in the absence of the dove, a hand, recognized as that of the Father, appears placing a crown, or victor's wreath, on his head. The cross and lamb which symbolize the Son, the hand revealing the Father, and the dove are frequently seen in fresco, or sculptured on marble, but they are rarely united in one place or on one monument, and never appear grouped. Passing by a few imperfect sketches previously made, we travel on through eight centuries before we find a complete representation of the Trinity. Between the ninth and twelfth centuries a new element was introduced into the representations of the Trinity, or at least became more conspicuous than before. This was the anthropomorphic. The ancient Christians, as we have seen, had carefully avoided presenting the Father under the human form, which would

have seemed to them too much like bringing back Paganism. But that fear had now passed. The Father had taken a proper human figure, though that figure was borrowed from the Son, and the dove of the Spirit had, as before said, yielded its place, at times at least, to the form of a man. Artists now therefore began to depict the three persons as similar and equal, and all in the human form. In a manuscript of the twelfth century the three appear of the same age, in the same posture and having the same costume and expression, so that it is impossible to say, which is the Father, and which the Son or Spirit. In opposition to this complete anthropomorphism which so essentially materialized and divided the Trinity, an attempt was made to present it under the most abstract form, and one which would save the unity, and for this purpose geometry supplied the triangle. During the next, or Gothic period as it is called, that is, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, a further advance was made. The persons heretofore represented as distinct, though sitting on the same throne, as in the manuscript just referred to, are united, the three bodies forming one having three heads. On the other side the geometric illustrations were continued, and improved upon. Three circles were adopted interwoven with each other, each circle containing one syllable of the word *trinitas* (trinity), and the central space, formed by the intersecting circles, containing the word *unitas* (unity), — trinity in unity. The subtle genius of Dante occasionally adopted similar geometric illustrations. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries retained all the types, figures and imagery used in former periods to represent the Trinity and exhibit its mystic glories. It was an age of syncretism. The anthropomorphic trinity is still continued, and exhibits some remarkable characteristics. Thus the three heads are not simply placed in juxta-position, do not simply adhere, but are mingled and confounded, presenting three faces under one *cranium*. Beyond this, one would think, art could not go, and in attempting some further improvements it fell into the monstrous. Of this Didron adduces some examples which, from their grossness, we must be excused from describing. The Church was at length compelled to interfere, and in 1628 Pope Urban VIII. prohibited the representation of the Trinity under the

form of a man with three heads, or one head with three faces, and similar representations; and Benedict XIV. renewed the decree in 1745.

In the foregoing analysis we are sensible that we have done but imperfect justice to M. Didron's volume, though we have said enough to afford our readers some glimpse of the extraordinary affluence of its materials, brought together with great research from a multitude of scattered sources. To the American student the work opens a subject in a great measure new, and we greatly mistake if among the scholars of Europe its publication will not have the effect of giving fresh impulse to a study, which promises interesting and useful results, not simply as relates to Christian æsthetics, but to the general current of thought and phases of opinion on subjects connected with religion and theology in past ages. To the historian of religion and the Church such a work must afford material aid, and not less to the student of human nature and the human mind. The most valuable knowledge is often gleaned from sources where the superficial observer would least expect to find it. An important part of the history of a nation may be written from its popular songs; and a painting or sculpture on a sarcophagus, or in catacombs where repose the ashes of the buried past; an image cherished with religious homage, the object of tenderness and devotion; ornaments of churches and manuscript illuminations, embodying the ideas of the age, are all things full of significance to him who can read them aright.

We look with eagerness for the remaining portion of M. Didron's work, which is to contain an account of what art has done not only for a multitude of inferior personages and allegorical beings, but for the Virgin Mary and for Jesus as he exhibited himself to the world during his earthly life; the representations hitherto described referring to him as one of the persons of the Trinity, and thus belonging to what the author calls a "History of God," the specific title of the present volume.

A. L.

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## ART. IV.—SUBJECTS FOR THE PULPIT.

No one can fail to be struck, we think, with observing the very considerable space and opportunity, which are given to the pulpit for influencing the public mind. A lecturer who should address the same class, twice a week, the year round, and year after year, would expect in process of time, certainly in the course of their whole life, to give them a great deal of information and the most complete and systematic views of the subject committed to him. If his subject were religion, he would expect to instruct them thoroughly in its great doctrines, natural and revealed; in the origin and history, in the genuineness and authenticity, the interpretation and import of the sacred volume; in the principles of moral truth, or in moral philosophy; in Ecclesiastical history, in the illustration which Christianity has received from the lives of its confessors and martyrs; and in short, in everything belonging to the sphere of his ministration. Instead of this, it is well known that the main, the almost exclusive object of the pulpit, and especially of the modern pulpit, is religious impression.

Now we give the highest importance to this object. Religious impression,—to make men feel what they do know, rather than to teach them what they do not know,—is, we admit, the most important object of the pulpit. To this we are willing to give up a large portion of the labors of the pulpit; nay, to this as the ultimate end we would devote all its labors. But we maintain that this great end requires the appropriation of a larger space than is usually given to religious knowledge.

And this we maintain on two grounds. In the first place, all right religious impression depends on knowledge. We grant indeed, that all men possess that knowledge which is the chief foundation of virtue and piety. But it certainly will be admitted on the other hand, that, other things being equal, the more a people has of general religious knowledge, the more it knows of religious history, antiquity, criticism, philosophy and biography, the more likely it is to be a religious people.

In the next place, we say that one impressive discourse in a day, in illustration and enforcement of some spiritual

and practical truth is all that a congregation can well digest and improve. Nay, we believe that one discourse of this nature is all that most preachers can effectively deliver. Especially if the interval between the two services is only two or three hours, the preacher is likely to come to the second service in such a state of exhaustion, that he must make a feebler impression than he did in the morning, and thus weaken the general effect of his labors. We have known serious hearers to reason upon the matter in this way, and to say, and with the highest admiration of the preacher, "I have received from him the highest and most delightful impression of the truths of religion that he can make upon me, and I do not wish to resort to a feebler administration at the same hands." But if we suppose that the preacher *can* collect his forces, and deliver himself as earnestly and powerfully in the afternoon as in the morning, still we should doubt the utility of it. The morning impression, if it be not weakened, is liable to be disturbed by the evening impression; and the effect is likely to be—that worst effect of preaching—a vagueness, a confusion of mind, that prevents the hearer from remembering or feeling anything distinctly; so that the day after, perhaps, he will not have enough of the matter left with him, to be able to tell you either the text or the theme.

What we would propose, therefore, is, that the morning service should be directly and wholly given up to religious impression, to the impression of some spiritual truth upon the heart and conscience; and that the afternoon or evening service should be devoted to communications of a different character. Indeed, we should be willing that the whole character of the two services should possess a marked difference. Let the morning service be "a holy convocation unto the Lord." Let it be the chief season of public worship. Let there be readings of the Scriptures, and prayers liturgical or original, and discourses and meditations; and let them all conspire immediately to some practical end; and let all the people come up to this convocation, feeling that each one has a part to take in the service as much as any other, and all, scarcely less than the preacher himself. This, we think, is as much of active and devout public worship, as it is expedient to ask of a

people in any one day. If this were faithfully rendered, we would say, it might well content us. Upon the present plan of asking too much, of asking two or three long services of a devotional character, we fear that we often get nothing; or nothing but a demure, wearisome, Pharisaical, fruitless observance. In the evening, we have said, we would have an entirely different service. We would invite the people to come to church or to the lecture-room, mainly as listeners. It is to be feared that the multitude of our Protestant congregations are little more than this, at any religious service. We would then make a distinction. We would lay all the stress upon one point, endeavoring thus to secure something, and thinking to secure the most that is possible in the circumstances; and then upon another point, we would concentrate our attention with a view to create a general interest in the facts, in the philosophy and in the records of religion, that we might thus advance the great and ultimate design of making better men and better Christians. In the second service, then, we say that we would invite the congregation to come mainly as listeners. The discourse should be a kind of lecture, with or without a text as might be convenient. It should as usual be preceded and followed by prayer: but the prayers should be shorter, and the discourse longer than in the morning service.

The main suggestion which we intended to make in this article is now before the reader in general terms; but its utility will be more apparent on some more particular consideration of that new class of subjects which claim the attention of the pulpit, and for the treatment of which we are disposed to assign the evening service.

In the first place then, to enter into particulars, we would propose a series of discourses on Natural Theology.

The world is filled with displays of boundless wisdom for the instruction of intelligent beings. The purposes of bare life and of mere physical comfort, might have been answered without this wonderful system of contrivance. There is a complexity in the processes of nature, and an extensive combination in its arrangements, and an abounding superfluity in its beauty and in its treasures, which might have been spared, if the only object had been to make man a mere living and sensitive being. It is because

there is an eye — itself a world of wonders in miniature — to look into the exquisite mechanism and surpassing loveliness of the creation, that it is made so exquisite and lovely. The world is a stupendous theatre of instruction, built and fashioned and fitted up, to train intelligent and religious beings to wisdom and happiness.

Some of them, indeed, have been thus trained, and they have endeavored to instruct others. But it seems to us one of the most saddening things in the history of the human race, that such multitudes, the great mass of mankind, have passed over this crowded and magnificent theatre, and have learned almost nothing of the wisdom of its mechanism and its adaptations. Are we asked how they should have learned it, immersed as they are in cares, and wearied with toils? We answer, that the clergy have a seventh part of the time of life set apart to them for the instruction of mankind; and the clergy, it seems to us, of every country and of every age, are the very persons who should have interpreted to man the great lessons of the creation. If it should be objected that this would not be *preaching*, or would not be preaching the Gospel — not preaching salvation, and therefore that it would not be proper for the pulpit, we must say that we cannot, with any patience, listen to the objection. For we ask, — has it pleased God to spread this mighty page for our instruction, and do we take upon us to say, that it is not proper for us to interpret it in our holy hours and sacred places? Is it an employment too low, too secular for us to *study*, what it has pleased God to *make*, for our instruction? That rest which the holy penmen ascribe to the Almighty on completing the work of creation, is doubtless ascribed to him by a sort of rhetorical figure; they represent it, *as if* he had *paused* to behold the perfection of his finished and wonderful work. But for man, it seems from the objection, it would be unworthy thus to employ any of the Sabbath hours.

We have done with the objection: but we may observe, as it falls in with our purpose under this head, that a just and full exposition of Scripture demands this kind of illustration from Natural Science, which we propose. The Psalms are filled with allusions to the works of nature. Let the preacher then take one of the Psalms; and



we will expand the supposition a little, for the sake of showing both its feasibility for the preacher as well as its expediency for the hearer. Let the preacher take, for instance, the hundred and fourth Psalm; let him spread it before him on Monday morning, and study first the language of it, carefully and critically; let him then, having ascertained the points to be illustrated, apply to the scientific works necessary to their elucidation, and let him give to them a portion of his leisure reading during the week. And here we will venture to observe that it would be well for the congregation to assist him in the purchase of the needful books, both critical and scientific; or better yet, for them to build up a permanent parish library for the use of themselves and their pastors. But to proceed; let the preacher having thus prepared himself come forth from time to time, as his studies should enable him, and discourse to the people upon the wonders of nature; not in a dry and scholastic manner, not as a mere lecturer, intent only on giving facts and explaining systems; but with an aim altogether religious; and with that fervor and delight, with which in his daily walks he is accustomed to contemplate nature.

How excellent, let us add, would be the effect of this course, both upon the preacher and hearer! The preacher would become a critical student and a learned man, almost without intending it. And the congregation—conceive what a congregation thus instructed would become in ten years! They would become acquainted with the wonders and beauties of the science of nature. They would learn that which it was apparently designed that all mankind should learn. They would not then have passed over this world in vain. They would not be learned philosophers, indeed; but they would have taken lessons, at least, in every department of this first great school of their being. All their pursuits and employments in life would be mixed up with thought, with reflection. All nature around them, every field and stream, every mountain and valley, would be uttering voices in their ears. Their path in life would be compassed about with tokens of divine goodness, with mementos of piety. They would walk with wisdom, they would be learning to walk with God on earth!

In the next place, the history of the Church, and the biog-

raphy of good men, might profitably engage the attention of a congregation in some of their evening services.

Ecclesiastical history, it must be confessed, is not, as it has been commonly treated, a very attractive theme. It is a story of many abuses, delusions and superstitions, and these have not been separated with sufficient care from the legitimate operations and effects of true Christianity. The proper text for a large portion of this history, is, that "the light has shone in darkness and the darkness has comprehended it not." But still the light has struggled with darkness, and has been gradually dispersing it from the face of the Christian world. This is the true glory of Christianity as an agent in human affairs, and this is the true point of view from which to survey its history. This, too, would furnish the proper answer to many objections which are brought against our religion, and it is important that Christians should be put in possession of it. From its past history, also, the Church might learn many important lessons *for itself*; lessons of modesty, forbearance, and toleration, from the lamentable want of these qualities; the futility of creeds as barriers to mental progress, since the decreed heterodoxy of one age has often become the standard orthodoxy of the next; the heinousness of religious domination, producing some of the most terrible cruelties on record; and in fine, the essential falsity of principles which are capable of such fearful abuses. These are lessons from its own experience, which it behoves the Church to learn; which it is incumbent on its pastors to teach.

But from amidst the clouds that have darkened the paths of history, bright examples of Christian virtue have shone out, which it would be most grateful and profitable to contemplate. Let the preacher, from time to time, as his reading would lead and enable him, give a discourse on the life of some great and good man; of some saint, seer, or apostle celebrated in holy writ; of some confessor or martyr of the elder ages; or of some reformer, sage or philanthropist of later days. We would not altogether exclude from the list, the mental biography of some of the heathen philosophers and sages, as Socrates, Plato and Confucius; for some of them were not only wise and good men, but led lives of contemplation and wisdom as well

fitted as almost anything we know of, to shame and arouse the worldly minds and sluggish virtues of many Christians. But at any rate, the lives of many of the holy progenitors and exemplars of our own faith; the lives of such men as Abraham and Joseph, of David and Daniel, of the Apostles of our Lord, of Justin Martyr and Ignatius, of Fenelon and Wesley, of Schwartz and Oberlin, of Emlyn and Lindsey, would be fit themes for the Christian pulpit. In discoursing upon these the preacher would not only be making valuable contributions to the stock of general knowledge, would not only throw a bright and instructive light upon the history of past times, but he would be emphatically fulfilling his appropriate work by teaching the great lessons of piety and virtue. He would be teaching, not abstractly, as it is too often his misfortune to do, but by the exhibition of a living example. He would show us how good men have lived, what they have done and suffered, how they have borne the evils and overcome the temptations common to us all. He would take occasion to comment on those peculiarities of Christian experience, on those trying questions of conscience, which would be most interesting and useful to many hearers, but which seldom find a place in his abstract discourses. This descending into the heart, into the individual life, would supply one of the qualities of useful preaching, in which the pulpit is now most deficient.

We might easily enlarge on this topic, but it is not, perhaps, necessary. The charm of biography is universally acknowledged, and its utility is equally apparent. One of the best means and stimulants to religious progress is the frequent reading of the lives of wise and good men. Let the pulpit contribute something in this way. God has compassed us about with a great cloud of witnesses for truth and virtue. His image is seen in them; and it must be meet and good for us often to contemplate it. It was thus that the writer to the Hebrews preached, when he held up before them, the faith of Abel and Noah, of Abraham and Joseph and of many more "who through faith, subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, quenched the violence of fire, out of weakness were made strong, and waxed valiant in fight;" of many who had "trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea and of bonds and imprisonments; who were stoned, and sawn asunder, and slain with

the sword ; who wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, in deserts and mountains, in caves and dens of the earth ; of whom the world was not worthy."

In the third place, a service set apart to the acquisition of religious knowledge would be very properly devoted in part to the consideration of the Evidences of Christianity, to the character of the Christian records and the principles of their interpretation, and to points of controversy.

We presume that any judicious preacher, proposing to deliver a series of discourses in either of these departments of religious inquiry, would not choose thus to occupy more than one half of each Sunday, giving the other part to meditations more spiritual and practical. But if this be true, it appears to us that it would be better at once to assign such subjects to a particular part of the day. Besides, we believe that many preachers neglect to discourse on subjects of this nature, as much as they otherwise might, and as would be desirable in fact, because there is a feeling in their minds and in the minds of their hearers, that such speculative and polemical discussions do not harmonize with the religious impression, the tender and devout spirit of solemn public worship. Nor are such topics likely to gain the requisite attention amidst services chiefly devoted to prayer and praise and spiritual meditation. We could scarcely wish that they should. Let then, we would say, a distinction be made. Since it is proper that matters of doctrine, of interpretation, and of evidence should be discussed in the pulpit, since it is reasonable that the people should demand light on these subjects from the preacher, should demand the results of those studies for which they give him an opportunity, let a time be set apart for this purpose. In the evening service let the gathering be, to the preacher ; to listen to his expositions ; as it were to a lecturer. This is too much the character of all attendance at church. But we would that the morning service should be an entirely different thing. We would that it should be, as we have said, a holy convocation *as unto the Lord* ; that the mind of the congregation should be fixed upon the Supreme Being ; that the question about attending church should never be the too common question, "who is to preach?" that this should be a question hardly thought of ; that it should be enough to know that *the worship of God* is to be celebrated in the holy place.

With this view of the different services, it would be proper to treat them differently. It might be proper, for instance, to announce beforehand the subjects to be discussed in the evening service. The congregation might naturally desire to be informed on this point. But this is a practice which seems to us to let down the dignity and solemnity of an occasion, where, not information, but worship and meditation are the principal ends. We cannot bear that subjects of infinite interest, subjects pertaining to our great duties and hopes, should be matters of advertisement. Nor can we consent to it as proper, except upon very extraordinary occasions, that the name of the officiating person should be thus announced to the public. Both practices have an apparent reference, either to the interests of the congregation, or to the ambition of the preacher, or to the curiosity of the public, which ill consorts, in our mind, with the solemnities of worship.

A course of sermons, then, on the *Evidences of Revelation*, a course on the character of its records, that is to say, on the state of its records and on their inspiration, and a course on the principles of the much abused and dishonored science of theology, ought, we think, to be delivered in every church. The tendency of the age to seek excitement and impression is leading to the neglect of these important subjects; and many are losing sight of the reasons and grounds of the faith that is in them, at the very time when it is put to the most searching scrutiny and serious question. We do not regret that preaching is becoming more spiritual, more experimental, more practical. We do not wish to bring back the old scholastic discussions of dogmas. But the time has come when we must put the defence of Christianity, and Christianity itself, upon their true grounds; for they cannot much longer stand upon any other. And this, we repeat, is the proper business of the pulpit.

In the last place, there is a variety of other subjects which may come under the occasional notice of the pulpit, and yet which require, some of them at least, a liberty in the discussion not altogether consonant, perhaps, with a season of solemn worship—with a season, that is to say, when worship and meditation are, or ought to be, regarded as the chief ends.

The subjects to which we now refer are such as the following;—the moral principles of trade; the condition of society; national duties and dangers; the use to be made of extraordinary events; and others of a like character. Clergymen are accustomed to avail themselves of the occasions which Fast days and the Thanksgiving festivals furnish, for discussing such topics. But those occasions by no means give sufficient space for them. A series of discourses, too, might be delivered on the Professions; and upon the moral responsibility of magistrates and legislators. It is high time that the pernicious distinction between public and private virtue were entirely done away; and the pulpit ought not to look on and see the sophistry, by which a bad man in private life is expected to be a very good man for the public, and keep silence. Sometimes too, a remarkable book which is exerting a very deleterious influence upon society, or one which is capable of yielding valuable moral lessons, might be made the subject of a discourse. We have heard of a sermon on the Imprisonment of Silvio Pellico, and of others on that remarkable and most instructive engraving of Retsch, entitled "the Game of Life." These are good examples, and we do not mean to say that discourses like these now referred to, might not properly be preached at any time; but we think it would be better, in order that the pulpit might discharge its full duty to the public, as an expositor and interpreter of the morality of passing events and occasions, that it should have an appointed and authorised time set apart to it, for such purposes. This liberty for the pulpit, at any rate, we wish to gain, whether the particular distinction which we propose between the morning and evening service be approved or not.

To the proper utility of preaching, in fine, it appears to us necessary that it should be more circumstantial and more enlightened.

It must be more circumstantial. Men are influenced by what is passing around them. Truth indeed is the all-powerful agent that is to form the human character, but truth speaks through circumstances, through events, through nature through human feelings and their actions. He, who would interpret and enforce the truth, must take hold of the instruments which are furnished to him by the whole

surrounding, living, and moving world. God's providence, as well as his revelation, must be the preacher's theme. It is not enough for him forever to pour moral or theological abstractions into the ears of men; he must speak to them of things around them, and with which they are daily conversant; of things which their eyes see, and their ears hear, and their hands do handle.

In other words, he must be an enlightened preacher. The age is beginning to demand this of him, and he must yield to the demand. The pulpit must rise upon the tide of liberalizing knowledge and thought, that is overspreading the world, or it must sink beneath the wave, among forgotten things. Already the eternal repetitions of abstract and barren points of theology, which the Protestant Reformation brought into fashion, are beginning to be less satisfactory; and the pulpit of every denomination is giving some tokens of the change that must pass over it. Let any one attempt now to repeat the sermons of Hopkins and Bellamy and Edwards, and able and acute as they are, more so perhaps than anything he can produce, he will find that they will not do. He will find that he must forsake the dead and turn to the living, — that he must forsake the dead things of scholastic theology, and turn to the living things of faith and fact, of experience and practice.

The preacher of this day, we repeat, must be enlightened. He must be acquainted with men and things, with nature and the science of nature, with events and their interpretations. And he must preach accordingly. When we think of his great and noble opportunities for influencing the public mind; when we think of the effects which he might produce upon a congregation in the city or the country, but especially in the country, and when we find him still pouring out upon the ears of the people, from Sunday to Sunday the same abstractions of theology, with not half so much meaning in them, as in the cataracts of their hills or the sounding winds of their groves, we are oppressed and pained with the deficiencies of the clerical profession, and with the immense loss to the world of what it might do. Why will not the preacher make those mountain streams and winds speak to the people? Why does he not make a voice from their fields and their fountains to steal into their ear amidst their daily occupations? Let him preach

from the books of theology if he pleases, let him not fail to preach from the Bible; but why shall he not preach from nature and life also? Why shall he not preach as the Bible preaches? Why not, like the Psalmist, and like Jesus the great Teacher, make all nature and life to be a presence and a beauty around us,—the presence of God, the beauty of holiness and love?

O. D.

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ART. V.—GREENWOOD'S MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS.\*

IF we should call this a very pleasant book, which the family of the late Dr. Greenwood have presented to the numerous friends who will welcome such an addition to their means of acquaintance with his mind and heart, we should probably use the word that would first come to the lips of any one after its perusal. It is a very pleasant book with which to spend an hour. But it is entitled to much higher praise. It is a profitable book for any one to read,—partly because it communicates information and offers instruction, which, if not new, are conveyed in clear and apt language, but chiefly because its moral tone is of the healthiest kind. It consists, in about equal proportions, of a journal kept in England during the year 1820–21, which he passed abroad for the recovery of his health, including letters which he sent to friends at home, and of essays collected from various publications to which he was a contributor. The "Journal" has never before been printed, and was "intended but for a few eyes beside" his "own," but it is written with that correctness and frequent beauty of style, which mark Dr. Greenwood's productions. Among the "Essays" we recognise two or three discourses originally delivered from the pulpit, such as those on the Eternity of God, and the Religion of the Sea, one or two reviews, as of Milton's Prose Works, and other articles, like those on the Spirit of Reform and the Study of Natural History, which especially belong to the department of

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\* The Miscellaneous Writings of F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D. Boston: Little & Brown. 1846. 12mo. pp. 393.



essays. The editor, who has brought together these "scattered pieces" of his father's composition, would, we think, have anticipated a natural curiosity on the part of the reader, if he had named the sources whence they were drawn. The want of such information is the only defect, and a small one it is, of the present volume.

Dr. Greenwood's excellencies as a writer are easily described. The first thing that every one notices is the exquisite polish of his style. It has the refinement without the weakness of elegance, and the firmness without the roughness of sincerity. Unlike the style of many writers, who are praised for the copiousness or strength of their diction, it would be an admirable model to put into the hands of a young composer. Let him not hope, however, to rival it till long use has made him familiar with the delicate forms of expression, which adorn as well as convey a meaning. If there be a fault in Dr. Greenwood's composition, it is that we see what care he must have bestowed on his language. The last perfection of the art of writing, as of many other arts, — that which conceals the effort beneath an apparent unconsciousness, he did not reach. Yet our discovery of the attention which he must have given to the structure of his sentences, scarcely lessens the delight with which we observe their finished proportions. The choicest expressions are continually recurring, to please us like those inimitable tints of nature's coloring which detain the eye in a well arranged cabinet of shells. Nothing is gaudy or excessive, but much is very beautiful. The accuracy of the language is also an important attribute of the style. The word which is wanted to describe the object, whether material or mental, is adopted, and we at once feel the propriety of the selection. Let any one sit, as we have, in sight of the ocean, with this volume dividing his attention, and as the facts and associations which belong to "the sea" crowd upon his mind, let him mark how faithful is the record presented on these pages. It is this rare union of the fit and the beautiful in language, which gives such a charm to everything that come from Dr. Greenwood's pen.

The genuine and right sentiment which runs through all his writings, is a still higher excellence. There is an honesty of feeling which no one can mistake. And it is the feeling which he ought to have had, and which we all

ought to have, as we look on the works of God or the ways of man. It does us good to read such a book, for it gives a proper direction to our thoughts and inspires us with just sentiment. We see that his mind was free alike from morbid emotion and selfish apathy. He was a man of deep but subdued sensibility, of earnest but calm piety, of serious purposes and pleasant fancies, of mingled thoughtfulness and playfulness. His writings represent his personal qualities.

Dr. Greenwood never offends good taste. In all that he wrote, a severe criticism finds nothing to condemn. We feel ourselves safe with such a writer or preacher, and give up ourselves without distrust to the luxury of his instruction. This feeling of security is a great help to the teacher who can inspire it in his auditory. They are not repelled, nor is the influence which he acquires over them disturbed, by any violation of rhetorical propriety, which with a person of cultivated mind has much the same effect that false pronunciation is said to have had with an Athenian audience. In the possession of the full confidence of his hearers or readers Dr. Greenwood cannot be surpassed.

The single defect which seems to us to belong to his writings, may have had its origin rather in the occasions for which they were prepared than in the character of his mind. The greater part of what has been published under his name consists of sermons, which must necessarily present an incomplete discussion of a theme. Yet we cannot but think that the want of thorough examination which appears to us to mark his treatment of a subject, resulted in part from his intellectual attributes; and we are confirmed in this opinion by the truthfulness, which gave the complexion of his own being to whatever he did. He never exhausts nor goes all round a subject, but leaves it just when we feel that there is yet much to be said by one who has shown himself so competent to deal with its details. We have often experienced this disappointment, and it creates a distrust of the writer's ability to gather up all the principles and bearings of his theme into one comprehensive view. All that he says is excellent. We are instructed by his remarks, every one of which approves itself to our consenting judgment, but we want to hear yet more, before we can believe that we have been placed

where the whole field of observation lies under our eye. That delicacy of discrimination which was so prominent a distinction of Dr. Greenwood, must have in some measure unfitted him for the largeness of philosophical criticism. We may not say that he did not possess logical power, for only a mind which reasoned correctly could carry others along in such a ready concurrence with its own persuasions; but the reasoning faculty was exercised on particulars. He is deficient in breadth of discussion. To borrow an illustration from his own favorite study of natural history, while we admire the fidelity with which flower and stem and leaf are described, we are reminded that a stronger hand is needed to tear the plant from its soil, and expose its naked roots — the sources of its growth and the bonds of its connexion with the life around it.

But for this defect, if we are right in imputing it to Dr. Greenwood's writings, we have abundant compensation in that moral healthfulness which, as we have said, distinguishes whatever he wrote. A feeling of calmness and strength comes over us as we turn page after page of this, as of all the previous volumes with which he has enriched our libraries. Whether it be the eternity of God, or the freedom of man, the religious associations of the sea, or the moral influences of the village graveyard, on which he discourses, we notice the same right-minded judgment, the same grateful faith, the same pure purpose and serene temper; and we are made better by communion with the thoughts which such a mind has elaborated in its secret exercises.

Particularly do we value the example of such a writer at a time when too many are ready to think, that honesty of speech can never stop short of rudeness, and that he alone discovers a true manliness who scorns the familiar sympathies of life. Dr. Greenwood would rank among the conservatives of our day, yet how free was his judgment, and how distinct his enunciation of truth. If any one would learn the elements and conditions of mental freedom, let him read the remarks on "the spirit of reform," which might better have been entitled an essay on personal independence. What is there described, was exemplified by Dr. Greenwood in the pulpit, in society, in daily life.

A single paragraph from the essay, or discourse, on the

eternity of God may illustrate his manner of treating subjects, on which many writers lose themselves in theological metaphysics or turgid declamation.

"The contemplation of this glorious attribute of God is fitted to excite in our minds the most animating and consoling reflections. Standing, as we are, amid the ruins of time, and the wrecks of mortality, where everything about us is created and dependent, proceeding from nothing, and hastening to destruction, we rejoice that something is presented to our view which has stood from everlasting, and will remain forever. When we have looked on the pleasures of life, and they have vanished away; when we have looked on the works of nature, and perceived that they were changing; on the monuments of art, and seen that they would not stand; on our friends, and they have fled while we were gazing; on ourselves, and felt that we were as fleeting as they; when we have looked on every object to which we could turn our anxious eyes, and they have all told us that they could give us no hope nor support, because they were so feeble themselves; we can look to the throne of God; change and decay have never reached it; the revolution of ages has never moved it; the waves of an eternity have been rushing past it, but it has remained unshaken; the waves of another eternity are rushing toward it, but it is fixed, and can never be disturbed."—pp. 205—206.

In connexion with this passage we may copy one from the "Religion of the Sea."

"There is nothing among the earthly works of God, which brings the feeling—for it can hardly be termed a conception—the feeling of eternity so powerfully to the soul, as does the 'wide, wide sea.' We look upon its waves, succeeding each other continually, one rising up as another vanishes, and we think of the generations of men, which lift up their heads for a while and then pass away, one after the other, from all the noise and show they make, even as those restless and momentary waves. Thus the waves and the ages come and go, appear and disappear, and the ocean and eternity remain the same, undecaying and unaffected, abiding in the unchanging integrity of their solemn existence. We stand upon the solitary shore, and we hear the surges beat, uttering such grand, inimitable symphonies as are fit for the audience of cliffs and skies; and our minds fly back through years and years, to that time, when, though we were not, and our fathers were not, those surges were yet beating, incessantly beating, making the same wild music, and heard alone by the overhanging cliffs, and the over-arching skies, which silently gave heed to it, even as they do

now. In the presence of this old and united company we feel on what an exceedingly small point we stand, and how soon we shall be swept away, while the surges will continue to beat on that very spot, and the cliffs and the skies will still lean over to hear. This is what may be called the feeling of eternity. Perhaps the feeling is rendered yet more intense, when we lie on our bed, musing and watching, and hear the sonorous cadences of the waves coming up solemnly and soothingly through the stillness of night. It is as the voice of a spirit — as the voice of the spirit of eternity. The ocean seems now to be a living thing, ever living and ever moving, a sleepless influence, a personification of unending duration, uttering aloud the oracles of primeval truth.

‘Listen! the mighty being is awake,  
And doth with his eternal motion make  
A sound like thunder, everlastingly.’

Where are the myriads of men who have trodden its shores, and gone down to it in ships? They are passed away. Not a single trace has been left by all their armaments. Where are the old kingdoms which were once washed by its waves? They have been changed, and changed again, till a few ruins only tell where they stood. But the sea is all the same. Man can place no monuments upon it, with all his ambition and pride. It suffers not even a ruin to speak of his triumphs or his existence. It remains as young, as strong, as free, as when it first listened to the Almighty Word, and responded with all its billows to the song of the morning stars.

‘Time writes no wrinkle on thine azure brow;  
Such as creation’s dawn beheld, thou rollest now.’”

pp. 282—284.

If we had room, we would extract the whole of that exquisite piece entitled “The Sea.” A sentence or two is all that we can give.

“‘The sea is his, and he made it.’ Its majesty is of God. What is there more sublime than the trackless, desert, all-surrounding, unfathomable sea? What is there more peacefully sublime than the calm, gently heaving, silent sea? What is there more terribly sublime than the angry, dashing, foaming sea? Power, resistless, overwhelming power, is its attribute and its expression, whether in the careless, conscious grandeur of its deep rest, or the wild tumult of its excited wrath. It is awful when its crested waves rise up to make a compact with the black clouds, and the howling winds, and the thunder, and the thunderbolt, and they sweep on in the joy of their dread alliance, to do the Almighty’s bidding. And it is awful, too, when it

stretches its broad level out to meet in quiet union the bended sky, and show in the line of meeting the vast rotundity of the world." — pp. 228—229.

"'The sea is his, and he made it.' Its beauty is of God. It possesses it, in richness, of its own; it borrows it from earth, and air, and heaven. The clouds lend it the various dyes of their wardrobe, and throw down upon it the broad masses of their shadows, as they go sailing and sweeping by. The rainbow laves in it its many-colored feet. The sun loves to visit it, and the moon, and the glittering brotherhood of planets and stars; for they delight themselves in its beauty. The sunbeams return from it in showers of diamonds and glances of fire; the moonbeams find in it a pathway of silver, where they dance to and fro, with the breeze and the waves, through the livelong night. It has a light, too, of its own—a soft and sparkling light, rivalling the stars; and often does the ship which cuts its surface, leave streaming behind a milky way of dim and uncertain lustre, like that which is shining dimly above." — p. 230.

Who that has gazed on the great fall at Niagara does not feel the truth of these remarks; which yet those who have not seen that wonder of God's creation can hardly understand; —

"And the motion of these Falls, how wonderfully fine it is! how graceful, how stately, how calm! There is nothing in it hurried or headlong, as you might have supposed. The eye is so long in measuring the vast, and yet unacknowledged height, that they seem to move over almost slowly; the central and most voluminous portion of the Horse-shoe even goes down silently. The truth is, that pompous phrases cannot describe these Falls. Calm and deeply-meaning words should alone be used in speaking of them. Anything like hyperbole would degrade them, if they could be degraded. But they cannot be. Neither the words nor the deeds of man degrade or disturb them. There they pour over, in their collected might and dignified flowing, steadily, constantly, as they always have been pouring since they came from the hollow of His hand, and you can add nothing to them, nor can you take anything from them." — pp. 298 — 299.

In a tone of impassioned, and yet subdued feeling, does he part with this glorious scene.

"Farewell, beautiful, holy creation of God! Flow on, in the garment of glory which he has given thee, and fill other souls, as thou hast filled mine, with wonder and praise. Often will my spirit be with thee, waking, and in dreams. But soon I shall pass away, and thou wilt remain. Flow on, then, for others'

eyes, when mine are closed, and for others' hearts, when mine is cold. Still call to the deeps of many generations. Still utter the instructions of the Creator to wayfaring spirits, till thou hast fulfilled thy work, and they have all returned, like wearied travellers, to their home." — pp. 307—308.

A few passages are all that we can take from the "Journal." His first impressions of Oxford, how just were they, and how well described.

"A place of palaces, and pinnacles, and spires; a city of delight and glory! where learning wears the diadem and sceptre, and is clothed in purple and furred robes, and is lodged in royal houses; where her walk is through fretted aisles and beneath gilded domes; where her contemplations are among the effigies of the wise and mighty who sleep, and where her seat is with the noblest in the realm. It is really quite elevating to visit this city, and I think no one, who has any taste or respect for literature or antiquity, can pass through the High street of Oxford without emotion; without having his soul filled with veneration and pleasure, at the view of the long-extended lines of colleges and halls, which were raised by the munificence of kings, and prelates, and great men, and which have nursed so many of the choicest spirits of so many ages. Two or three times did I walk up and down this noble street, absorbed in the crowding thoughts and associations with which the place is connected in the mind of every votary of learning, though he be the humblest, and enjoying, in reality, a scene which my imagination had often busied itself in painting and varying. The buildings of the university are dispersed in the city without any order of arrangement, though the great body of them are situated on each side of High street, either directly upon or very near it. The shops, dwelling-houses, and churches, which are mixed with the colleges in this street, are some of them elegant, all of them handsome; and it is terminated on the left, toward London, by the beautifully proportioned tower of Magdalen College, which alone might be a sufficient boast for any city. The stone of which the university buildings are chiefly constructed is of a sombre gray color, and peels off in flakes on its external surface; not so, however, as to cause essential injury to the structure, except in its parts of nicer workmanship. Evening approached, and I deferred viewing the interior of the colleges till the next morning." — pp. 68—70.

Dr. Greenwood's delight in ecclesiastical architecture appears at every opportunity for its expression. When the doubt arose whether he should take the Southampton or the

Salisbury route on his way from London to Exeter, "Salisbury has a cathedral," says he, "and Southampton has not, and this was quite enough to decide me." His mind, however, was never seduced from the integrity of a sound judgment. At Winchester he says:—

"The choir is extremely beautiful; and I must confess that though the fine chanting, and the solemnity of the service, prevented me from wandering till it was completed, I paid more earnest and reverential attention to the grand eastern window, with its mullions, and tracery, and old painted glass, the masterly groining of the roof, the bishop's throne of time-stained oak, lightly rising in gothic open work, till it almost touched the ceiling, and the rich carved work in oak and stone, which was lavished all around me, than I did to the sleepy discourse and drowsy tones of the old gentleman who was handling some subject or other in the pulpit, I know not what, as well as he knew how. Between the works of men of different countries, different ages, and different persuasions, there is a difference as wide; but men themselves are still the same. In the splendid arches, and with the affecting service of the cathedral, there is not a whit more of genuine piety and elevation of thought than there is beneath the plain roof and with the plainer service of the meeting-house or the convention [conventicle?] Go not, therefore, into one of these glorious edifices with the expectation of joining in the worship of the Almighty, with those whose hearts are melted and whose minds are exalted by every sublime association and aid in the performance of their holiest duty; for you will still meet with the indifferent, the trifling, the vain, the worthless and the worldly; and as the fat monk and the trim baron muttered and kneeled there in days long gone, so you will find the dull priest and the dandy gentleman, preaching, and praying, and chanting there still."—pp. 125, 126.

In a letter to a friend written from Devonshire we find a passage which is too faithful a description of his own tastes—to say nothing of its pleasant humor—to be omitted.

"I am not sorry to hear that the liberals and reasonables are so earnestly driving the quill, because discussion will do no harm to truth; but you know that I like the pugilistic temper as little as you do, and that I am as much teased as yourself by the disposition, manifested by some, to blow the trumpet in Zion so long, and loud, and bloodily, that the peaceable dwellers therein shall have never a moment of rest, and of accusing all who will not go up to Ramoth Gilead to battle, of disaffection to the true



cause. We both think that it is exceedingly troublesome to be perpetually cased in armor; to breakfast, dine, sup, and sleep with harness on the back; and not only so, but to mount the steed, set the spear in rest, and sally forth to the lists, for the pleasure of breaking lances or noddles with every champion who dares take up the gauntlet against us. And we both have an idea, that by minding our official and domestic duties in a quiet way, and teaching others, as well as we can, to mind theirs — not refusing, the while, to lend a hand, for exercise sake, to a righteous quarrel, when we see occasion — we may chance to do almost as much good, and be almost as good sort of folk, as if we went through life with a doubled fist." — p. 164.

The sketch of Mr. Belsham, though brief, is sufficient to set him distinctly before our view.

"August 5. I breakfasted this morning with the champion and chief of living Unitarians, the Rev. Thomas Belsham; — a round, sensible, good-natured head, a short person, and very corpulent; kind and affable in his manners, interesting and communicative in his conversation, and devoid of all arrogance and affectation in his address. He inquired particularly about our common friends in America, and spoke with affectionate remembrance of my lamented predecessor, Mr. Thacher. I observed with pleasure, on the walls of the room, besides the portraits of most of the distinguished Unitarians, those of several of our own great men." — pp. 86, 87.

"August 6. I dined with Mr. Belsham, and heard him preach both parts of the day. His sermons were by far the best that I have yet heard in England; full of thought, and calculated to set one's thoughts to work. He used no gesture whatever; his hands hung unemployed by his side, or were only employed to turn the leaves of his manuscript. The interior of the chapel is neat and simple, and under the same roof with the minister's house; there being a communication between them by a door, an excellent accommodation to the preacher in hot, cold, or bad weather of any kind. The premises in Essex street are the same which were taken and improved by Mr. B.'s predecessor, the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey. The congregation was tolerably numerous in the morning, notwithstanding the rain; but very thin in the afternoon. This was, I understood, the usual course of alternation; the house being well filled, and often crowded, in the first service, and almost deserted in the second." — pp. 87, 88.

The volume before us contains a single poetical piece, written after his visit to Glastonbury Abbey. As a not unsuccessful imitation of the old ballad, it is worthy of notice.

"A verie pithie and mournful Ballate  
Of Glassenbury Abbey, and the Abbott and Freres thereof:  
Right profitable unto alle godlie soules that in these  
backslidinge tymes doe nathelasse cease not  
to honour Scte Joseph and our Lady.

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They hangid the Abbott on Michael's hille,  
And they seized on his church and lande;  
For so it was stoute kynge Harry's wille,  
Whose wille there mote none withstande.

They smote on the walles of the Abbey fayre,  
And spoyled its high rooffe of stone;  
And windowe, and tower, and winding staire,  
They pullid down one by one.

Its tenante now is the boding crowe,  
In stedde of the hooded friar;  
On its ruines the ivy and walle-floure growe,  
The ferne and the white-blossomed briar.

Its altar the pilgrim he seeketh no more  
From the lande of another sunne,  
For Masse, and Prayer, and Confessioun are ower,  
And Mattines and Vespers are done.

And the brethren, so holie, are scattered abroad,  
To labour, to begge, and to die;  
Withouten a frende — but their pitting Lord,  
And our Ladie that sitteth on high.

But laughe not, proude Harry, nor joie in thy strengthe,  
For thou, too, in Ruines shalt falle,  
And the pitillesse Spoyler shalle finde thee at lengthe,  
Despight of thy stronge pallace walle.

And ruine to thee shalle be darknesse and shame,  
Foulle wormes, crumbling bones, and coulde clay;  
While the Abbey, though ruined, shalle flourishe in fame,  
And looke fayre in the swete light of daie.

The Stranger from farre distante shoares shall come here,  
Its beauteouse relickes to see,  
And shall give to its glories a sighe and a teare,  
And a curse, cruelle monarcke, to thee." — pp. 177, 178.

We take one more extract from this volume, as an example of the felicity of style which enabled Dr. Greenwood to give a charm even to geographical delineation.

"Most peculiarly is the land of Canaan the land of the soul; the land which seems to be nearest heaven of any spot on earth, to those whose hopes are in heaven as the destination and rest of souls. How can it be otherwise, when it is recognized as the land in which the great dispensations of God were made known to men; on which the Son of God descended from heaven, and from which he ascended to his Father again? But look at it with a view to its geographical position alone, and see what a conspicuous place it occupies on the map of the world. Washed by the ultimate waves of the Mediterranean, the very name of which sea denotes its central locality, Palestine looks down over the long extent of its surface, glancing at the whole southern coast of Europe on the right, and the whole northern coast of Africa on the left. Near, on the right hand, are the shores and islands of classical Greece. Near, on the left hand, are the plains and pyramids of Egypt, wrapped in the clouds of ancient mystery, and never shadowed by the rain-clouds of heaven. Above, on the north, lies the great Syrian domain. Behind, toward the east, are the countries which are watered by the Euphrates and Tigris. Below, to the south, is the expanse of the Red Sea, cleaving its way through Egypt and Arabia, up within sight almost of the walls of Jerusalem, as if to offer a passage down its length to the whole Oriental world. Look on a map of the world as known to the ancients, and you perceive that the Holy Land occupies nearly the mathematical centre of that world. Look on a map of the round world as known to us, and you perceive that the Holy Land stands at the very threshold, by the avenues of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, between the European and American continents and the rich empires of the East." — pp. 376, 377.

We have multiplied our extracts, but we do not fear that we have satiated our readers. It is with a melancholy pleasure that we give them the opportunity of again perusing the words of one whose contributions in former years enriched, while his critical taste watched over, the pages of our journal.

E. S. G.

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## ART. VI.—CHEEVER'S WRITINGS.\*

WE have placed the first of these works of Dr. Cheever at the head of our article, rather to show that we are not unmindful of the production upon which many may think his reputation as an author will chiefly rest, than to give to it an extended review. It is the literary character of these books which we propose to examine, and our limits will not permit us to consider their theological bearings. The Lectures upon Bunyan and his famous allegory are a purely theological, and we may also with propriety say, sectarian work; and cannot be criticised, in justice either to the writer or the reviewer, except in connexion with the whole scheme of Orthodox theology. With proper time and space, this might not be a very severe task, for the work carries with it no overpowering logic; but, in its constant reference to dogmas, contents itself with assuming as matter of illustration according to the views of the author, what it does not undertake to prove to the minds of others. Dr. Cheever uses ideas and follows up associated images, to adorn and explain and amplify what is to himself true; but draws no consequential and connected inferences, that might enforce the assumptions upon less informed minds. There is but one sustained argument that we remember—that on Justification, on page 427. For the rest, Dr. Cheever, though professing a zealous love for liberty of conscience and freedom of opinion, assumes in every line, with a most *nonchalant* and quiet air of infallibility, the incontrovertible nature of his own religious theories; as one might assume, in the concoction of a narrative of events supposed to take place while the sun was above the horizon, that objects would appear to all parties with the universal and unvarying hue of daylight. His very lan-

\* 1. *Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, and on the Life and Times of John Bunyan.* By Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER. Fifth Edition. New York: Edward Walker. 1846. 8vo. pp. 514.

2. *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in the Shadow of Mont Blanc.* By GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1845. 12mo. pp. 166.

3. *The Pilgrim in the Shadow of the Jungfrau Alp.* By GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1846. 12mo. pp. 214.

guage is in its whole tissue composed of the peculiar formulas, set phrases and conventional expressions, so long the vehicle of Orthodox doctrines. To those who sympathize with these peculiar views, all this will be well, and indeed to many such, the chief charm of the book; but to others it tends to make it in just the same proportion unpleasant. It seems to us, however, that in the polemics of his profession the author's zeal is his prominent distinction. He appears to be actuated by a deep and unaffected enthusiasm, but he does not prepare himself for his task either with the "soft falling snows of persuasion" or the thunderbolts of logic. He is not on the great ocean of speculative warfare a frowning and tremendous three-decker, like Edwards, nor a gallant careering frigate, like Stuart, but a fast and bright painted yacht, tall-sparred and wide-winged, and streaming from tops and gaffs with telegraphic numbers, owner's signal, and ornamental flags. In view, indeed, of the perfect, unqualified devotion of every page and thought to exclusive tenets, we might not unjustly compare the book to one of the bemottoed, beflagged, belabelled craft that adorn processions, to promote the purposes of the authors of the pageant, by exciting patriotic feelings in general and their own partizan ideas in particular. Owing to this all-pervading peculiarity, the style of the book is as intimately connected with these doctrines, as the phraseology of a legal document with the purposes it is intended to effect. It is *sui generis*. As far as amenable to general criticism, it resembles exactly the other two volumes, and we shall therefore proceed to the consideration of them as more adapted to illustrate the literary powers and character of the author. We will first, however, extract a single passage from the "Lecture," as a favorable specimen of the work.

"Now in these dreams of Bunyan's own soul you may see clearly the materials, afterwards put more visibly into the symmetrical mould of Scripture imagery, of that grand and awful Dream of the Judgment, which the Man related to Christian in the House of the Interpreter. Almost all men have at times passed through something of the same experience; for conscience is often busy in the night-time, when the external business of the day prevented her work and claims from being attended to. We go about the world in the day time, we see pleasant companions, we are absorbed in earthly schemes, the things of sense are around us, the world is as bright as a rain-

bow, and it bears for us no marks or predictions of the judgment, or of our sins, and it holds no conversation with us on those subjects, and conscience is retired, as it were, within a far inner circle of the soul. But when it comes night, and the streets are empty, and the lights are out, and the business and dancing and gayety are over, and the pall of sleep is drawn over the senses, and reason and the will are no longer on the watch, then conscience comes out solemnly, and walks about in the silent chambers of the soul, and makes her survey and her comments, and sometimes sits down and sternly reads the record of a life that the waking man would never look into, and the catalogue of crimes that are gathering for the judgment. And as conscience reads, and reads aloud, and soliloquizes, you may hear the still deep echo of her voice reverberated through the soul's most secret unveiled recesses. Imagination walks tremblingly behind her, and now they two alone pass through the open gate of the Scriptures into the future and eternal world; for thither all things in man's being naturally and irresistibly tend; and there, as conscience is still dwelling upon sin, imagination draws the judgment, and the soul is presented at the bar of God, and the eye of the Judge is on it, and a hand of fire writes, as on the wall of the universe, *Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting!* Then, whatever sinful thoughts or passions, words or deeds, the conscience enumerates and dwells upon, the imagination with prophetic truth fills eternity with corresponding shapes of evil. Our dreams sometimes reveal our character, our sins, our destinies, far more clearly than our waking thoughts; for whereas by day the energies of our being are turned into artificial channels, by night our thoughts follow the bent that is most natural to them; and as man is both an immortal and a sinful being, the consequences both of his immortality and his sinfulness will sometimes be made to stand out in overpowering light, when the busy pursuits of day and of the world are not able to turn the soul from wandering towards eternity." — pp. 271, 272.

We have been disappointed in the other volumes before us; we do not think they satisfy the expectations that the author's profession and reputation would raise. They stop short in spirit and execution, as well as in their scope of classic atmosphere. The second volume asserts, in the outset, claims which are but imperfectly sustained, and makes good none that justify the pretension to extraordinary merit. As a work intended only to meet a narrow and given demand, or as a mere common-place book of its author's fancies, it might not be objectionable. But as a book of travels

designed for the general eye, it is not what it pretends to be; as the work of a professed man of letters, it is not what it ought to be.

Much is said in the preface and introductory chapter of this volume, on the province and duty of the traveller. It is charged against the common herd, that, in travelling, they are too much given to seeing what is to be seen and hearing what is to be heard, and contenting themselves with making a faithful report thereof for the benefit of those who have not enjoyed the same opportunities. This common, but, as he thinks, very superficial course, our author repudiates, lest he should fail "to connect with nature the eternal feeling and conscience of the soul." He is determined, upon principle, "to sermonize" as much as he sees fit, let who will be pleased or displeased. Now fair notice being given in the outset, we may have less reason to complain in this particular case; but it is clearly within the province of criticism, to examine into the soundness of the principle and the results of the practice.

It is true, that all observations on external matters—"free and careless pictures and incidents, lively stories, anecdotes, the talk of men, the wayward etchings of life and manners"—and even other more substantial fruits of a "pilgrimage," would lose most of their value, if not finally made applicable to the purposes of the mind and heart. But it is generally more agreeable and useful for individuals to draw, in some measure, their own inferences and make their own application. It is rather a work of supererogation in the tourist, to hunt down to the last possible corollary such truths as passing scenes suggest. It is treating the reader with the onerous hospitality of the Esquimaux; who, laying the guest on his back, stuffs him with blubber, nor thinks his duty done, till he cuts off with his knife the last morsel projecting from the mouth of the gorged object of his kindness. One must have the stomach of an Esquimaux, and love his blubber and train oil too, to enjoy such superfluity of provision. A pertinent remark, a brief suggestion, even a thorough discussion of some interesting point, will add materially, in their place, to the value of any book. But a regular sermon upon every mountain-top, and a homily of whole chapters at once in every valley, are out of place in a book like this. And

especially is this true, when there is nothing in the discourse but those commonplaces of philosophy or devotion, that may be found in almost any school-boy's theme, or boarding-school miss's juvenile sentimentalities. We do not love to trifle with a grave subject. We reluctantly censure what is, of itself, worthy of all respect. But the discriminating precept of Solomon, that "to every thing there is a season," plain as it is in itself and threadbare from endless quotation, seems to be little regarded. And not only do we deem sermonizing out of place, even though the writer be a clergyman, in a book professing a general character and purpose, but we believe it to be unwise, even for the ends for which the sermon must be presumed to be given. It is a very common, but a very great mistake, to consider everything as lost, that is not brought with railroad speed and directness to a moral conclusion. Every maxim that association can bring in by hard straining, and all possible utterances for which occasions put upon the rack to extort testimony can furnish texts, are often poured upon reluctant ears with much less of profit to the reader than of vain satisfaction to the preacher. What Dr. Cheever would call the "old Adam" relucts against this inopportune pressing of matters not called for by the train of association, and perhaps unpalatable in form as well as untimely.

Moreover, if an author choose to indite sermons in such circumstances, contrary, as it seems to us, to the precepts of him who rebuked ostentatious exhortations in the market-places and long prayers at the corners of the streets, there is a fitness—waiving the original impropriety of the act—growing out of surrounding influences, which pure taste could hardly fail to recognize, and genuine, expanded, catholic feeling to observe. But it is preposterous, that one should address a sermon to the great community of reasonable men, standing in a position which demands of him courtesy, if nothing more, to the public at large, and found that sermon entirely upon the creed of a small religious party, and compose it in language peculiar to a sectarian theology. No matter how true may be the creed, or how deep the theology, or how great his own reverence for both, they should not be thought admissible where they will necessarily be repugnant to a very large number of readers. If the book were published as a sectarian work, it would be



another thing. In the great temple of universal truth, of human intellect and heavenly hope, there should be no erection of private altars, no sacrifices to a petty partisanship. That temple belongs to man and is sacred to God, and sects cannot and must not claim it, nor must dogma there assert its limited schemes of doctrine.

How can the man of taste, the scholar and the Christian, stand upon the Alps, as it were within a hand's breadth of heaven, and shout his hosanna in the *patois* of a conventional creed! How can he look abroad over the world at his feet, and fail to feel in the very depths of his soul that he is but one among millions, and that if he would touch the heart-strings of the listening host, he must not attempt it as the champion of an opinion which nine-tenths of them condemn, nor as the importunate advocate of a creed of which many have never heard, and many more heard only to reject. He must not speak in the tone of a prophet, settling all fiercely disputed questions by his own authority, but as a man to men; and if he speak of that God of nature in whose manifest presence he almost literally stands, let it be of the God who dwells in that deep blue sky which arches, as over his head, so likewise over that of every mortal man, not of the God who is enshrined in his own, perhaps sincere and fervent, yet fallible faith. If he would find "books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything," the quest is a high and holy one. But he has no right to translate those books of nature from the tongue common to all mankind, that he may stamp them with the signet of his own censorship; nor to make those sermons commence with disputed texts of polemic theology, and end in pronouncing all good to be the fruit only of a creed cherished by himself and more than doubted by ten thousand others.

It is to us a marvel and a riddle, how one who claims to feel the majesty of creation and to look with awe and reverence to the Creator, can stand listening to the mighty voice of choral praise, thundered forth in the dread rush of the avalanche and borne to his ear by the breeze of the wild, heaven-seeking mountain, and coolly turn and tune his petty pitch-pipe for a concluding anthem from the orchestra of such or such a church, number this or that, Broadway,

New York, or express it all in a bald stanza of a dogmatic canticle.

We would quote, as one among many instances of this lack of taste and unseasonable introduction of sectarian tenets, the opening of the twenty-fourth chapter of the "Pilgrim in the Shadow of the Jungfrau Alp."

"The Hospice of the Grimsel stands immediately beneath and amidst these desolate and barren mountains, about half an hour from the summit of the pass. Grimly and fearfully they frown upon it, as if to say, the nearer Nature gets to Heaven without Grace, the more you see nothing in her but craggy, gloomy, overwhelming horrors, the emblems of a scarred and guilty Past, more visible and striking, the nearer they come into contrast with the pure and radiant Future. So is a fallen being, un-renewed. So it is with the inveterate and crabbed repugnancies, the black and thunder-riven crags, the desolate and barren peaks, of fallen, guilty, despairing human nature; nowhere so awful, as when brought nearest to God, if not clothed with verdure, and brought near to him in Christ. There is a transformation to be wrought, and when the righteousness which Christ imparts is thrown upon this same ruined nature, when his spirit dwells within it and transfigures it, then Despair departs into hell, and earth, that groaned in bondage, reflects and resembles Heaven. Craggy men become little children, and in the Spirit of Adoption, Abba, Father, is the voice that all the renewed creation sends up to God."— p. 100.

We would refer the reader also to a paragraph on page ninth, and to another on page thirty-eighth of the same volume. A multitude of similar examples might be given.

The author, indeed, has told us that his purpose was especially to give us his own thoughts upon what came under his observation; and he has an undeniable right so to do. But if he choose to make his thoughts those of a partisan, rather than of a man and liberal scholar, he will earn from the public at large a reputation accordingly.

Allied to this prevailing propensity to throw over every landscape the coloring of a creed, is an undue bitterness of remark wherever his path is crossed by any form of Romish influence. We should be inclined to go very far with him in his positions, that Roman Catholicism has exerted, and must exert a withering influence on the intellectual and physical welfare of the communities where it prevails. It is a spiritual tyranny, which like every system of intolerant

authority, either religious or political, dwarfs and degrades our whole nature. But while we should assent to what seems to us a fact abundantly established in the past and present experience of the world, no philosophical and liberal mind can sympathize with uncharitable invective and unseemly levity in the consideration of a subject so grave and extensive. Particularly do they seem uncourteous and unbecoming in those who think it necessary to express *ex cathedrâ*, and with the style of a dogmatism that will admit no question, their own peculiar tenets, at all times and seasons, with or without any apparent need of "bearing testimony" to an assumed infallibility.

We would wish to be understood. We do not intend so much to express our assent or dissent from the propositions claimed as truth, in any case, as to suggest the utter inexpediency of either proclaiming or condemning opinions, in highway and bye-way, in language so importunate and unqualified. Neither can we see, for the reasons already stated, the expediency of introducing into a work like this disquisitions such as occupy the whole of the fortieth chapter, where we are unceremoniously brought down from the inspiring scenery of a sublime Alpine pass into a formal discussion of polemic theology.

We extract as having some intrinsic interest a part of the chapter upon the chapel of the Virgin Mary at Einsiedeln, which may also serve to illustrate in some degree the points to which we have alluded.

"Einsiedeln constitutes the very head-quarters of the worship of the Virgin Mary. All day long, if you come into the region as we did, nigh about the season for the great annual worshipping festival, or virginal levee, you will meet pilgrims on the roads in every direction, hurrying thither or returning from the shrine; old men and robust peasants, maidens and little children, troops of old women telling their beads and repeating their prayers, as they tramp along the wet road, as if praying for a wager. What an intense, haggard zeal is depicted in some of their countenances; their lips move, and they do not look at you, but hurry on undistracted from their great work, for they probably have a certain number of *Aves* to repeat, or perhaps a bead roll of prayers so constructed, that if they miss one, they must go over the whole again from the beginning.

And is this religion? Is it *taught* for religion by beings who have heard of Jesus Christ, and of the Sacred Scriptures, and of

the character of God? Is this the influence of the Virgin Mary upon the soul? Do men expect thus to climb to heaven? Pass on to the great building, the spacious Temple of the Virgin, and you will see. It is a vast and gaudy church within, a stately structure without, enshrining a black image of the Virgin, almost as black as ebony, which some believe came miraculously from heaven, as fully as ever the Ephesians believed in the heaven-descended character of the image of their great goddess Diana. This singular shrine is frequented by multitudes of penance-doing people, who go thither at the impulse of their anxious half-awakened consciences, under guidance of their priests, to deposit their offerings, perform their prayers, and quiet their souls with the hope, by Mary's help, of escaping unscathed both Hell and Purgatory.

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The Pope and the Priesthood are joint stockholders of a great bank in Heaven, which they have reared on false capital, and of which they have appointed Mary the supreme and perpetual Directress. So the Pope and the Priests issue their bills of credit on Mary, and for the people the whole concern is turned into a sort of savings bank, where believers deposit their *Ave Marias*, their pilgrimages, their penances, their orisons and *acts of grace*, receiving now, for convenience in this world, drafts from the Pope, and expecting to receive their whole reversionary fortune from Mary in Paradise. If this be not as sheer, pure, unsophisticated a form of paganism, as the annals of Heathen Mythology ever disclosed or perfected, we are at a loss to know what constitutes paganism. The artful mixture of the Gospel scheme of redemption, and reference to it, in this Marianic system, makes it, if not a stronger poison, a far more subtle and dangerous delusion for the mind.

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In front of the great Einsiedeln Church there is a fountain, with fourteen compartments or jets, at one of which the common people say and believe our Saviour drank, though when, or how, or by what possibility, it would puzzle the staunchest Judæus Apellus to tell. If this place were Sychar, nigh to the parcel of ground which Jacob gave to his son Joseph, or even if Einsiedeln were on the way to Egypt, from the Holy Land, such a legend were possibly accountable and admissible; but here in the Alpine Mountains, on the way from Schwytz to Zurich, no man can imagine how such a tradition came about. And yet the poor people believe it. I saw a peasant with the utmost gravity and reverence taking fourteen drinks in succession, in order that he might be sure he had got the right one; and probably all the more ignorant pilgrims do the same. Simultaneously

with him, a flock of geese were drinking round the fountain, but with much more wit, to save the trouble of going the circuit, they dipped their splashing bill-cups in the reservoir below, into which all the fourteen jets pour their streams together, being sure that the contents of the sacred one must necessarily be there also.

And do you really think that a goose has so much sense? Do *you* think a *man* can have so much *folly*? I would answer; Which ought to be the greatest marvel, that a goose should conclude, since all the jets fall into the pool, that there can be no one jet, the water of which is not there, or that a man should have so much sad and blind credulity, as to believe that Jesus Christ once drank there, and that if *he* drinks at the same jet, his *soul* will be benefited? Which, I ask, ought to be the greatest marvel? Is it not a folly almost incredible, almost equal to the mad enthusiasm of the tunic-worshippers at Treves, Holy Coat, pray for us! And what is to be said of a religion, which, instead of endeavoring to cure people of their ignorance; just takes the advantage of it, enshrining and maintaining in state every absurd phantasm that a frightened superstitious brain can coin? It is the veriest trickery, worthy of a Turkish Santon, a religious jugglery, not half so respectable as that of Jannes and Jambres, to cajole the common uneducated mind in this manner. And it passes one's comprehension how educated men, in other respects upright and honest, can connive at such lunacies among the people."— pp. 152—155.

We might also refer the reader to the paragraphs on the 166th and 167th pages in the thirty-sixth chapter, as specimens of the spirit of criticism displayed towards antagonistic creeds, and the style of "sermonizing" upon the author's own. Should we attempt to quote all passages of similar import, we should reprint a large portion of the work.

In some of the reflections, besides their excessive abundance and their pertinacious air of didactic patronage, we meet with a grotesque quaintness which seems to us in painfully bad taste. Speaking of Zurich and its distinguished reformer Zwingle, he says: —

"He and Luther and Melancthon must have had a joyful meeting with one another, and with Paul and Peter and John, and other old disciples and worthies. *How they talked over* the scenes of the Reformation and of the great primeval spread of the Gospel beginning at Jerusalem."— p. 163.

There is a want of dignity of style commensurate with the subject, that argues an exceedingly defective taste, and almost amounts to irreverence ; a sort of pot-house familiarity in allusion to the most lofty topics, that cannot make other than a disagreeable impression upon the feeling.

In another place we find a specimen of this ungraceful roughness. He is on the summit of the Righi.

"It is said you can see fourteen lakes from the place where we are standing. I counted at least twelve last evening, before the night-veil of the mist had been drawn above them, but this morning the *goings on* in the heavens have been too beautiful and grand to take the time [who or what to take the time ?] for counting them, and besides they are too much enveloped with the slow-retiring fogs to detect them."—p. 139.

In the thirty-eighth chapter, page 177, in the midst of a grave and violent philippic against Romish intolerance, occurs this sentence—"This is one way, in which, by the constitution of Divine Providence men's sins come down upon their own *pate* and nations reap the fire of their own persecutions." In chapter forty-first, describing the Splugen pass, we find the following simile, too forced and ill-considered to give to the involved comparison any weight or beauty. "You pass the snowy recesses where nature holds the nursling rivers to her bosom of glaciers, feeding her infants with ice." The poor babies have a cold cradle and hard fare! Again: "The governors of the stable at Campo Dolcino either could not or would not provide us a voiture, whereupon, *as we would have ridden a rail* rather than stay, etc." A clergyman riding a rail is not a pleasant idea to present, even in imagination, to a reader of a quick sense of decorum ; and as, moreover, the conveyance would prove anything but efficient for the purpose of extended locomotion, the whole contingent threat assumes the aspect of a schoolboy bluster.

There are some rather insignificant jokes, harmless enough to be sure, but rather incongruous with the almost apostolic vehemency and bitter earnestness of the work at large. An ordinary joke is well enough in private life ; but in public no jest should ever be ventured that may not boldly challenge criticism and carry the risible muscles by storm. Mediocrity is inadmissible.

"The Stork Inns! I know not why the hotels should be likened to such fowl as the stork the vulture and others of that *ilk*, unless it be on account of their long bills. \* \* \* I like a pleasant title for an inn; there is something friendly and attractive in it. The *Quid pro Quo* would be an excellent cognomen; whether you render it, something for somebody, or sure of your money's worth, or entertainment for man and beast. There is more *innward* significance in the titles of Inns than most men dream of; and probably a philosophic traveller would find many a *cud* of contemplation both curious and instructive, should he set himself to trace the character and habits of nations in the names and sign-pictures of their inns."—p. 160.

Now this is terribly clumsy gamboling—but a sorry bear-dance. Moreover, to joke number one, a certain Joseph Miller has a claim, from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary; and to joke number two, no man who valued his reputation would, in our opinion, plead guilty.

We notice a vast quantity of mistaken meanings, affected metaphorical significations, inappropriate epithets, and not a little of the new German word-compounding, recondite meaning-elucidating, extra-English-thought and expression-embracing phraseology. Small blemishes that are unworthy of a scholar, constantly disfigure the pages. We may instance as specimens of slovenliness, inaccuracy and indiscriminate use, or rather abuse of words, the following.

"The moon is now shooting up her light, etc., and *gilding* the snowy outlines of the scenery, till they look like the edges of the *silvery* clouds." Queer gilding! "The sunrise is beautifully *reported* from point to point, with the rays of light *gilding and silvering* the edges and crags of the mountain." Is the writer one of those peculiarly organized individuals who cannot distinguish color, that gold and silver are alike to him? "You feel every moment as if you might plunge headlong or break through into some concealed abyss, *to be laid away in crystal on the secret shelves of the deep mountain museum*, [not a bad idea,] but *bating* that," etc. The word "bating" has, by process of time, become vulgar. "*The river shoots like a catapult* into the chasm," etc. Catapults shoot rocks, beams, arrows, but never were so suicidal as to shoot themselves. "The upper bridge spans the

*catarrhical performance* of the Reuss at an angle of the mountain."—"And besides what art shall there be to quicken the memory in *knowledges* already forgotten?"—"Idiotically *blating* a half forgotten prayer."—"Though sometimes a single *drink* (draught) at the other."—"And if it be *drank* while that is going on." Verily this word is a shibboleth to Dr. Cheever. "A colossal titanic kettle"—wheugh—what a pot!—"Gilding the snowy outlines with ermines"—more white gold. Then again, to finish a pretty fanciful description of the Staubach falls, we have, in the Pilgrimage to Mont Blanc, the following prurient jumble of comparisons.

"They are like—what *are* they like?—like beautiful maidens, timidly entering the gay world—like Raphael's or Murillo's pictures of the Virgin and child—like the light of unexpected truth upon the mind—like a 'morrice band' of daisies (i. e. daisies dancing cotillions, or more probably country dances) greeting a 'traveller in the lane'—like a flock of sheep feeding among lilies—like the white doe of Rylstone—like the frost work on the window—like an apple-tree in blossom—like the first new moon. \* \* \* They are like fairies dancing in the moonlight; like the wings of angels coming down Jacob's ladder into the world."—p. 162.

Truly a wonderful cascade—like all things in earth, air or sea. It is a pity the author asked himself that question.

We have given these examples of minor faults, which might have been greatly multiplied, because writing in such a style, by one who knows or ought to know better, is a matter of serious moment. These blemishes are so many petty treasons against taste and literature, and the scholar who allows himself in them is faithless to the duties of his position.

We turn willingly from enumeration of faults to recognize the merits of the work. In the descriptions of natural scenery, which are a smaller portion of the book than could be wished, there is abundant evidence both of poetic feeling and power of language,—not however, as we have already shown, tempered altogether by good taste. One of the finest specimens of delicate appreciation and beautiful description, is that of the magnificent cathedral at Milan, in the "Pilgrim of the Jungfrau:"—



"The Cathedral is claimed by the Milanese as the eighth wonder of the world. It rises in the very heart of the city, a magnificent broad pile of white marble, sculptured and entablatured on the face and sides with groups of statuary, and pinnacled at every angle and corner with lofty and delicate spires, which bear upon their summits each a majestic statue of white marble. One hundred and sixteen of these spires are visible at once, and the sculptured forms springing from their slender extremities look as if suspended in the air by magic. The great tower of the Cathedral is an almost interminable labyrinth of marble statuary and tracery at so great height, and so light and delicate, that it seems as if the first strong wind would prostrate the whole, or scatter its rocky lace-work like leaves in autumn.

If you can conceive of a river of liquid white marble shot into the air to the height of five hundred feet, and then suddenly petrified while falling, you will come to some approximation of the beauty and rareness of this magnificent vision. It seems like a petrified oriental dream, and if it had stood in Venice, opposite St. Mark's Church and the Doge's Palace, it would have been more in keeping."—pp. 203, 204.

"Now we turn again upon the marble tower, along its wilderness of spire and statues. How admirably the sculptures are finished! Half way up the grand spire, you have the best view of them, more than four thousand in all, though not all at once visible. The immense size of the building, and its innumerable recesses, admit of their distribution in such a way, that you would not dream there were more than five hundred in all."—p. 205.

We quote also, with pleasure, from the "*Wanderings of a Pilgrim*," the following description of the famous *Mer de Glace*.

"At Montanvert you find yourself on the extremity of a plateau, so situated, that on one side you may look down into the dread frozen sea, and on the other, by a few steps, into the lovely, green vale of Chamouny! What astonishing variety and contrast in the spectacle! Far beneath, a smiling and verdant valley, watered by the Arve, with hamlets, fields and gardens, the abode of life, sweet children and flowers;—far above, savage and inaccessible crags of ice and granite, and a cataract of stiffened billows, stretching away beyond sight—the throne of Death and Winter.

From the bosom of the tumbling sea of ice, enormous granite needles shoot into the sky, objects of singular sublimity, one of them rising to the great height of 13,000 feet, seven thousand above the point where you are standing. This is more than double the height of Mount Washington in our country and this

amazing pinnacle of rock looks like the spire of an interminable colossal Cathedral, with other pinnacles around it. No snow can cling to the summits of these jagged spires; the lightning does not splinter them; the tempests rave round them; and at their base, those eternal drifting ranges of snow are formed, that sweep down into the frozen sea, and feed the perpetual, immeasurable masses of the glacier. Meanwhile, the laughing verdure, sprinkled with flowers, plays upon the edges of the enormous masses of ice—so near, that you may almost touch the ice with one hand, and with the other pluck the violet. So, oftentimes, the ice and the verdure are mingled in our earthly pilgrimage;—so, sometimes, in one and the same family you may see the exquisite refinements and the crabbed repugnancies of human nature. So, in the same house of God, on the same bench, may sit an angel and a murderer; a villain, like a glacier, and a man with a heart like a sweet running brook in the sunshine.

The impetuous arrested cataract seems as if it were ploughing the rocky gorge with its turbulent surges. Indeed the ridges of rocky fragments along the edges of the glacier, called *moraines*, do look precisely as if a colossal iron plough had torn them from the mountain, and laid them along in one continuous furrow on the frozen verge. It is a scene of stupendous sublimity. These mighty granite peaks, hewn and pinnacled into the Gothic towers, and these rugged mountain walls and buttresses,—what a Cathedral! with this cloudless sky, by starlight, for its fretted roof—the chaunting wail of the tempest, and the rushing of the avalanche for its organ. How grand the thundering sound of the vast masses of ice tumbling from the roof of the Arve-cavern at the foot of the glacier! Does it not seem, as it sullenly and heavily echoes, and rolls up from so immense a distance below, even more sublime than the thunder of the avalanche above us!—pp. 58, 59.

The reader will also find in the descriptions of the avalanches of the Jungfrau and the Pass of the Gemmi, and many others in these volumes, much to admire. It is grievous, that they should be so frequently marred by forced, obtrusive reflections, by solecisms and blunders. The devout spirit, which we must suppose governs the author in constantly connecting these exhibitions of nature's grandest features with the appropriate religious considerations, can meet with nothing but approbation. We doubt, however, whether the cause of religion or taste will allow of such a continual suggestion, even of the loftiest and most needful ideas; and we are sure, that their beauty and value are well nigh destroyed by the limits of special consequence

to which they are always reduced. Upon the mountains where Divinity almost seems to speak to us face to face, as with Moses of old on Sinai, that heart must indeed be grovelling and cold, that would not or could not sympathize with a devotion pure, grand, expansive as the scene that calls it forth. But when that magnificent picture of Omnipotence is retained in the author's hand and only presented to us framed to meet a special fashion, we feel a little as if we were cheated out of the common inheritance of humanity, out of our own self-respect and dignity, out of our right to look unimpeded and unjustled towards heaven. We are made instantly to feel, in the most uncomfortable manner, the wide difference between religion and sectarianism, — between devotion to God's attributes and man's hopes, and devotion to a party. The man of genius and the scholar can commit no more suicidal error than to cramp his soul within the limits of an austere and importunate love of a formula. The pæan of fanaticism is the dirge of reason, the burial-hymn of genius.

We hope that our American scholars will not adopt Dr. Cheever's fashion of writing books. It is allied to the hitching, uneven, grotesque, half-Germanic style which threatens in some quarters to innovate so much upon the simple, smooth and deep flow of our noble English tongue. Now in the highest clouds of enthusiastic feeling or aspiring reason, then dropping down to a childish barrenness and an offensive vulgarity of expression, dignity, manliness, true simplicity and good taste are all sacrificed alike in thought and diction. Some leading intellects have given currency to this pernicious change; but we hope that we shall at length come back to the solid gold of "English undefiled," — retaining at least only such admixture of this artificial and foreign ingredient as may improve the tenacity and ductility of our own standard metal.

It is grown of late much the fashion to depreciate sound and thorough learning, and to undervalue the discrimination and taste of accomplished scholarship. The "*ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes*" is sought to be postponed uncere- moniously to more imperative claims upon the time of Americans. The literature of a country must share with every thing else the influence of its political and social institutions. It cannot be otherwise; and to some extent, it

ought not. But it is necessary, where that influence is unfavorable, to restrict it within the narrowest possible limits.

Our institutions, though friendly to a general intellectual activity, are adverse to a thorough scholarship. We are nearly all of us much engrossed in the objects that unrestricted enterprise and unlimited ambition invite, and the lack of hereditary fortunes compels us to pursue. Neither the dusty roads of commerce, nor the cramped turnpikes of the law, nor the miry paths of politics, tend to Parnassus. Still a general taste and familiarity with the leading features of science, art and belles lettres are here, more than elsewhere; generally diffused: and energetic habits in the business of every day life afford a sound basis of literary exertion. Indeed it is one special excellence of our literature, that it has become part and parcel of every day life, with its labors and rewards, its exertions and pleasures apparent everywhere.

Yet want of wide and comprehensive attainments, and absence of consummate finish, must be among the necessary defects of a literature resting upon such a popular foundation, although in independent and vigorous thought, in manly consistency and dignity, it may challenge comparison with any other. How ill judged then, to aggravate rather than check the tendency alluded to. Whatever is practical and immediately applicable to the purposes of life, must of necessity assume, in most cases, the highest rank of importance; and we must freely allow the necessary sacrifices to physical needs and social position. But here let us stop. Else all genuine excellence must soon cease; and the standard of attainment, accommodated from day to day to the constantly falling scale of an average requirement, will soon be found approaching the confines of degeneracy.

And let not the mere man of the world fancy that an elevated literature and a pure taste are unimportant, even to his own most practical pursuits. He may do all that is needful on the wharf and in the counting-house or on 'change without them; but if he will make them companions of his leisure, he will find that he can do even this drudgery the better with them. And where the lawyer and the merchant can trace no immediate and pecuniary profit, the man will unfailingly realize a rich and imperishable return.

But we would warn the man of exclusively "practical objects," that he cannot dispense with the existence of these things somewhere in society, if he can conduct his own business and spend his own life satisfactorily without recurrence to them. It is the scholar that has placed in his hands those very means which he now considers so independent of all learning, and it is to the scholar that he must look even for the possibility of continuing his own dry and material existence. Taste, virtue, sound philosophy, pure morals, elevated art, and religion, are the soul of that body politic of which he is an atomic member. Palsy the soul, and the body must soon wither; and as it crumbles to decay, our practical man, with all his plans and schemings, independent and self-relying as he deems himself, must die with it, or at best give up his wide-spread operations and his keen speculations in the stock-market, to dig clams from the sand and roots from the woods, just as other savages are compelled to do. For civilization dwells, not in the splendid edifice, but in the genius and taste that could devise, and the skill and science that can erect it. When these are gone, the magnificent building soon becomes a melancholy ruin, only marking to the eye of degenerate descendants the spot where their fathers dwelt in power and in glory.

And more especially, we say again, are considerations like these imperative upon the professed scholar. It is due to the community and to his own fame, that he should maintain himself on high ground; and if he undertake to address the public mind, that he should offer to it a work of purity, elevation, good taste and pertinency. The high priest is inexcusable, if he bring to the altar an offering which he knows to be blemished and impure. The avowed man of letters should seek to neutralize, by special care and exertion, the injurious tendency, rather than yield to its influence or seek justification for indolence and imperfection in its example.

G. H. D.

## ART. VII. — NEW HYMN BOOK.\*

REGARDED as a volume of devotional poetry for private reading, this collection is one of the best that we have ever seen. The selection has evidently been made with much labor and care, and under the guidance of a taste deeply imbued both with the poetical and the religious sentiment. Whatever may be omitted, it contains few pieces which do not rightfully claim a place among the gems of religious poetry. It is not a collection so much as a selection, and determined, as it ought to be, by the individual peculiarities of the compilers. The result is, that it is so pervaded by one general tone of sentiment as to have the unity and interest which belong to a volume by a single author. It is eminently rich in hymns which express the irreligious aspirations of a confiding and devout heart. It is remarkable for the large number of new and excellent hymns which it has brought to light, many of which can scarcely fail of being permanent additions to the literature of our churches. And we may add, that among the best of them are some of those for which we are indebted, apparently, to the compilers or their friends. As a volume of religious poetry, giving expression to some of the highest religious emotions and suited to awaken them, we feel disposed to bestow upon it almost unqualified commendation.

But having said thus much, we must say more. The volume is good enough to have its defects pointed out, and all the more, because, if any new hymn book is hereafter prepared, we are sure it will draw largely from this. We have expressed our high sense of the literary taste it exhibits, but there are some things, which, even in this relation, we should regard as obnoxious to criticism. We do not object to alterations in hymns where they are improved by the change, and in a large proportion of cases the alterations which we have observed seem to us judiciously made. The criticism we should make relates rather to the peculiar, and we must think, somewhat contracted and unsympathetic taste, which like the key-note in music, governs the compilation. In reading the volume, it appears to us that the

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\* *A Book of Hymns for Public and Private Devotion.* Cambridge: Metcalf & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 380.

poetry as a whole is pervaded by a certain air of languor. There are striking exceptions, as in the case of the contributions from Whittier. But the selection as a whole has been made from hymns characterized by a delicate, gentle, refined beauty, rather than by a masculine and vigorous tone of thought or expression. We would have the former retained, and the latter not omitted. It accords with this peculiarity, that in an unusually large number of hymns, — in one out of every ten or twelve, we think — each successive stanza begins or ends with a sort of *refrain*. The same line or phrase is repeated, to introduce or close each verse. For example, in hymn 122 each stanza ends with the following lines,

“And thus with love to raise up those  
That once were bowed low.”

Undoubtedly strange motions will sometimes cause one to pause and dwell upon and repeat again and again the same word or phrase, and when it is the result of strong emotion, it is well — nothing can be better. But it is far more often a mere trick of verse, used to hide or to eke out the efforts of a languid imagination, instead of being the utterance of an intense action of mind and feeling. These, however, are matters of comparatively little moment.

Viewed as a hymn book to be used by our congregations, the present work contains altogether too large a proportion of pieces which are religious poems, but not hymns; excellent in themselves, admirably suited for a volume of religious poetry, but not so well adapted for use in the public worship of Almighty God.

Its most serious deficiency as a hymn book, however, is the limited circle of Christian emotion and experience, to which it is principally, though not exclusively, confined. Whatever the cause, there are many hearts which would find here an expression of only a part of their profoundest religious feelings. Hymns abound which give utterance to the religious aspirations, the sense of imperfection, the modified self-reproach, which may belong to pure and innocent minds. But the dark fact of sin as it really exists in multitudes, the consciousness of personal guilt or unworthiness, the overwhelming feeling of self-reproach and remorse, the depression of soul which from the depths cries up to

God, the imploring prayer for forgiveness, — these states of mind find slight recognition here. We should suppose that the prayer, which many souls, at some period of life, have felt to be the only one they could utter, "God be merciful to me a sinner," seemed almost out of place to the compilers of this volume. The doctrine of the forgiveness of sins and the emotions that give meaning to it, occupy so subordinate a place in this collection, that it would seem as if hymns that express them had been intentionally omitted. As a slight illustration of what we mean, though unimportant in itself, in hymn 201, with the title, "A penitential hymn," and beginning "God of mercy, God of love," the last line of the fourth stanza is changed from "Seeking pardon from thy throne" to "Seeking strength from thee alone." The change in this particular case may or may not be an improvement; we refer to it only to illustrate an important characteristic of the volume. And we must consider it a most serious deficiency in a book prepared to be used in public worship by men, most of whom are conscious of their guilt, some of whom are penitent, and all of whom stand in perpetual need of the Divine forgiveness.

There is another great truth of our religion, which holds a less prominent place than we should expect in a book prepared for Christian worship, — we refer to the resurrection of Christ. It is the central fact of our religion. Our Christian hopes are all indissolubly connected with it. It stood ever before the minds of the Apostles, like a light shining in the heavens. In this volume there are many hymns which refer to Christ's death, very few which are prompted by his resurrection. It is impossible that the compilers should regard this as an unimportant event in Christian history. The defect may have originated in not meeting with hymns on this subject which commended themselves to their taste. But even at the expense of the poetical excellence of the volume, if that were necessary, greater prominence should have been given to this truth in a work prepared for Christian worship on the Christian Sabbath. On the score of taste, if for no other reason, we are sorry that the fourth stanza, recognising the resurrection of Christ, of the hymn beginning, "Go to dark Gethsemane," should have been omitted.



We have been thus particular in our remarks, because we think highly of the volume. It is a valuable addition to our hymn books, and might easily furnish a foundation for a better one than any we have. The deficiencies to which we have referred, affect its value chiefly as a hymn book to be used in churches. In the other part of its object — to provide a collection of sacred poetry for "private devotion," and especially in bringing together those hymns which express the trusting, submissive and devout affections, we think the compilers have been peculiarly successful.

Among the hymns now first published, are several from Mrs. Miles, which are so good that we regret that there are not more from the same source. We transfer one of them to our pages.

" IN AFFLICTION.

Thou, infinite in love,  
Guide this bewildered mind,  
Which, like the trembling dove,  
No resting-place can find  
On the wild waters, — God of light,  
Through the thick darkness lead me right!

Bid the fierce conflict cease,  
And fear and anguish fly;  
Let there again be peace,  
As in the days gone by:  
In Jesus' name I cry to thee,  
Remembering Gethsemane.

Fain would earth's true and dear  
Save me in this dark hour:  
And art not thou more near?  
Art thou not love and power?  
Vain is the help of man, but thou  
Canst send deliverance even now.

Though through the future's shade  
Pale phantoms I descry,  
Let me not shrink dismayed,  
But ever feel thee nigh:  
There may be grief, and pain, and care,  
But, O my Father! thou art there."

The following hymn, apparently by one of the compilers, has much merit.

"IN TIME OF WAR.

LORD, once our faith in man no fear could move ;  
Now save it from despair ; —  
The trial comes ; strengthen the might of love :  
Father, thou hearest prayer.

Thou hearest : and we hear, above this din,  
Thy blessed word sound clear :  
' I purge this land from slavery and sin ;  
The reign of heaven draws near.'

O never falter, ye who strive to bring  
In men the heavenly birth ;  
For still the angel hosts unfaltering sing,  
' Peace to the weary earth !'

O never falter ! peace must come by pain ;  
Heaven is not found, but won ;  
Hold the dark angel till he moulds again  
The peace he hath undone.

We know not, Lord, what storms and trials strong  
Must work our world's new birth ;  
But we will toil, with this for working-song, —  
' Peace to the weary earth !'

Peace to the weary, struggling, sin-sick earth !  
Peace to the heart of man !  
Storm shall bring calm ; that high reward is worth  
All we must bear, or can."

The volume contains excellent hymns, which we now meet with for the first time in such a collection, by Furness, Bulfinch, Whittier, Jones Very, and indeed quite a number of other American authors, who here appear worthily in a worthy company. The list of new hymns from English authors is also large. There is no department of literature in which there has been greater improvement than in that of devotional poetry. Formerly our hymn-books were crowded with the productions of men, who, though eminent as Christians, with few exceptions, were altogether undistinguished as poets. Now, the names of the first poets are familiar in our manuals of devotion. It is to be hoped that the change indicates improvement in the general spirit of literature, and gives omens of the coming of the time when the highest action of mind shall be hallowed by a religious consecration.

E. P.

## ART. VIII.—CHARACTER AND POSITION OF CONGREGATIONALISM.\*

LUTHER, summoned before the Diet at Worms and strongly urged to recant his errors, exclaimed, "Convince me out of the sacred Scriptures that I am wrong, and I will recant everything. I yield to no authority but the word of God." This declaration of Luther soon became an established principle,—the right of private judgment in interpreting the "sacred Scriptures" as the sufficient source and authoritative rule of Christian faith. This principle, upon which all Protestant sects claim to stand, and which alone justifies dissent from the doctrines and authority of the Roman Papacy, lies at the bottom of Congregationalism. It is the broad platform upon which its members come together, separating themselves subsequently, according to their religious affinities, into different congregations or churches.

The importance, the influence and tendency of this principle, as opposed to the Rationalistic on the one hand, and the Hierarchical on the other, we endeavored to illustrate in a former article, and at its close intimated a purpose, which we now proceed to execute, of continuing the subject, by some observations on the second great principle of Congregationalism,—the independence of each particular church or congregation of worshippers,—and the present position and duties of Congregationalists.

The second great principle of Congregationalism is involved in the first, follows as a necessary consequence from it. If each individual has a right to study and interpret the Scriptures for himself, then any number of individuals having a broad general agreement in their interpretation of these Scriptures, and in the religious opinions gathered from them, have a right to associate, to form themselves into a religious society, or church, and conduct, or have conducted, the services of religious instruction and worship in such way as shall seem to them good, Scriptural and efficacious.

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\* *Report on Congregationalism, including a Manual of Church Discipline, together with the Cambridge Platform, adopted in 1648, and the Confession of Faith, adopted in 1680.* Boston: B. Perkins & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 128.

This is the idea or principle of Congregationalism, from which it derives its name. It supposes a general agreement among the same body of worshippers in the great fundamentals of Christian truth ; but it does not aim to enforce this agreement, much less to produce an identity of opinion in the particulars of religious belief. This broad, general ground of union was especially recognised, and practically adhered to, by the early Congregational churches of this country. The creeds or covenants of many of these churches were extremely simple, requiring only the general expression of a belief in the Scriptures as the revealed will and word of God, faith in Jesus as the promised Messiah and Saviour, and an earnest purpose of living in obedience to the precepts and spirit of his Gospel. This was the case, to some extent, even after the Synod of 1648, which framed and agreed upon the Cambridge Platform, and after the Synod of 1679-80, which adopted a Confession of Faith similar, with slight variations, to the Savoy and Westminster Confessions. This Platform and this Confession were undoubtedly recognised and appealed to generally by the New England churches, as embracing a true exposition of their principles of church organization and discipline and of the doctrines of the Gospel ; but in the administration of particular churches neither of them was rigidly adhered to and enforced. Certain it is, that in the records, which we have examined, of several churches established between 1650 and 1700, no allusion is made in the accounts of their organization and early administration to the Platform or to the Confession ; while the only covenant of which any mention is made in the early records is exceedingly simple, broad, general, being only an expression, on the part of each individual originally forming or subsequently joining the church, of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and of a purpose to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless, and to yield obedience to every truth of his that had been or should be made known to the individual as his duty.

What we thus find by examination to have been the case with some of the early New England churches, we conclude was also the case with others ; and a thorough and careful examination into the early records and administration of each and all of these churches would, we believe, sustain

the remark we have made, that Congregationalism does not aim to produce, much less enforce an exact identity of opinion in the particulars of religious belief among individuals of the same church, or an absolute uniformity of action and administration in all churches. With regard to individuals, it supposes a general agreement in certain great truths and principles as the basis on which they associate, the bond of union and sympathy between them. As respects churches, it maintains that each congregation or society of Christian worshippers is an independent body, a true and complete church of Christ, with no subjection or responsibility to any other except what is mutual, having an inherent right and power to determine its own creed and form of worship; to select and, if need be, ordain its own pastor; in short, to order all its own affairs without hindrance, dictation or control from any other body.

But while Congregationalism regards the individual societies of worshippers as "*distinct*, and therefore not to be confounded with one another, and *equal*, and therefore having no dominion over one another," it does not hold them to be absolutely separate, isolated bodies; but as having mutual relations and duties to each other as members of one great body, of which Christ is the head. It recognises and requires mutual sympathy, counsel, aid, encouragement and coöperation between churches, to be exercised in obedience to the great principle of Christian love, and in such various ways as the occasion may demand or opportunity offer.

The nice point in the practical working of Congregationalism is, to preserve this independence and mutual sympathy of the churches,—to have the latter full, strong and efficacious, without infringing upon the former. Without discussing this topic at length, we may briefly remark, that there are obviously some methods in which Congregational churches may sympathize with and aid each other without any loss of independence. One church may consult another, or several other churches, touching any matter in which it feels the need of some counsel or judgment other than its own,—as the church at Antioch consulted the church at Jerusalem, on the question of the circumcision of the Gentiles,—being at liberty to act subsequently, upon the counsel given, in such way as it shall deem best.

Again, one church may of its own accord, meekly and in a loving spirit, advise or admonish another church touching any irregularity or scandal permitted in it without efforts at prevention. The Apostles claimed and exercised no control over each other, yet Paul admonished, nay, rebuked Peter, when he found him acting wrong, — a fact difficult to reconcile with Peter's supremacy, much more with his infallibility as Christ's vicar upon earth. So among Congregational churches, claiming no authority over each other, one may admonish another kindly and meekly without usurpation, and the admonition be received in the same spirit, and be profited by, without loss of independence. Again, as the churches of the Gentiles contributed liberally towards the relief and comfort of the church at Jerusalem, so one church may aid another by direct pecuniary assistance, the richer and older helping the poorer and younger church to sustain the institutions of religion, the administration of the ordinances of the Gospel, till the latter reach a mature growth and can support itself. Again, through Associations, Conventions, Synods, — general assemblies, called by what name you choose, — Congregational churches may meet, consult and act together, may unite their moral and pecuniary strength in the execution of plans and enterprises too extensive for a single society to undertake, having reference to the general advancement of truth and the promotion of righteousness upon earth, — and this without any loss or infringement of the independence of any church so consulting and acting.

In these, as well as in other ways which we need not stop to enumerate, Congregational churches may exercise mutual sympathy, may feel themselves to be parts of a great whole, may advise and aid one another, may act with collective strength, in an associated capacity.

This is the Congregational idea or plan, — independence, but not separation, — mutual sympathy, a fellowship of duty and benevolence, but not authoritative control.

The question now arises, — is this plan, which makes each congregation or society of worshippers to be an independent body, Christ its only head, the Scriptures its controlling authority and guide, free to conduct the services of instruction and worship and to order its own affairs as these Scriptures interpreted by themselves may dictate, and to

have such sympathy, union and cōoperation with other churches, as shall be found to be mutually beneficial, convenient and edifying—is this plan of church organization a good one? Is it Scriptural, in harmony with the letter and the spirit of the New Testament? Is it efficient? Can it produce all the good produced by a stronger, a hierarchical organization, and at the same time be accompanied by fewer evils, be less liable to abuse and perversion? We contend for the affirmative of these questions.

We say first, that this plan is Scriptural, eminently in harmony with all that we read in the New Testament of the primitive Apostolical societies of Christians. We admit, what a just and wise interpretation of that volume establishes, that no clear, distinctly defined, authoritatively promulgated plan of organization for the Christian Church is to be found in its pages. But we contend that all that there is in the Christian Scriptures, bearing directly or indirectly upon this subject, is in favor of Congregationalism. Our Saviour gave his Apostles one great simple commission—"to preach the Gospel," that is, to do what they could to disseminate its truths and principles, and bring men to obey them. He did not tell them to constitute, or not to constitute any particular kind of organization, form of worship, or mode of instruction, whereby truth might be diffused, holiness promoted, and the Gospel brought to bear with power upon the moral and spiritual interests of men. He left it to them to establish such organization, to adopt such forms of worship, such means and modes of imparting instruction, of diffusing and enforcing truth, as they might deem best. The Apostles in fulfilling their commission exercised this liberty. They went forth preaching the Gospel, making converts, gathering disciples, but they do not seem to have had much thought or care about forms of organization, worship or instruction. Their great object was, to establish the new religion with power in the hearts of men, not to construct its machinery as an external social institution. Undoubtedly during their lives and ministrations there was some organization among the different communities of converts to Christianity, some forms, usages, offices, designed to promote the spread of the Gospel, and the efficacious administration of its truth. But these do not appear to have been in all cases precisely the same,

nor to have originated always in an Apostolic injunction or command. Some of them did so originate; some were approved by the Apostles after their introduction by others; some thus introduced, were disapproved and prohibited. "The form of the Christian community and of the public Christian worship," says Neander, "arose at first *without any preconceived plan*."\* This seems to have been the fact. In allusion to the resemblance of the organization and worship of the primitive Christian churches to those of the Jewish synagogue, the same writer says, "But it may be disputed, whether the Apostles, to whom Christ committed the chief direction of affairs, designed from the first that believers should form a society exactly on the model of the synagogue, and in pursuance of this plan instituted particular offices for the government of the Church corresponding to that model,—or whether, without such a preconceived plan, distinct offices were appointed as circumstances required, in doing which they availed themselves of the model of the synagogue, with which they were familiar."† While he admits that the former "supposition has much plausibility," he thinks that "the evidence for it, on closer examination, appears by no means conclusive." He contends for the latter supposition, which seems to be the correct one. The Apostles do not appear to have had any preconceived plan for the organization of the Christian Church. They went forth to preach the Gospel; they went first to their own people, the Jews. The synagogue, in the simplicity and freedom of its service, gave the readiest access to them; they entered it, and spoke. They made converts; these converts, gathered from the synagogue, (and often, perhaps, all or almost all the worshippers at the same synagogue embraced the Christian faith nearly simultaneously,) preserved or adopted, in all its essential features, the form of organization and worship to which they were accustomed, with such alterations from time to time, as the spirit and purpose of the Gospel might suggest or require.

This view is fully avowed and sustained, with an independence and candor that do him honor, by that distin-

\* Planting and Training of the Christian Church. Edinburgh Ed. p. 26.

† *Ib.* pp. 34, 35.



guished prelate, Archbishop Whately, who remarks:—"It appears highly probable, — I might say, morally certain, — that wherever a Jewish synagogue existed, that was brought, — the whole, or the chief part of it, — to embrace the Gospel, the apostles did not there, so much *form* a Christian church (or congregation, *ecclesia*) as *make an existing congregation Christian*; by introducing the Christian sacraments and worship, and establishing whatever regulations were requisite for the newly adopted faith; leaving the machinery (if I may so speak) of government unchanged." \* We might quote a multitude of authorities to the same effect, but it is not necessary. It is a fact admitted, we believe, by all the most eminent and unprejudiced ecclesiastical writers, and as clearly proved as anything connected with the history of the primitive Church can be, that "the form of the Christian community, and of the public Christian worship, arose at first without any preconceived plan" in the minds of the Apostles or first converts; that they were borrowed from the Jewish synagogue, by a natural and easy transference, and in all important features and principles corresponded to the model from which they were derived. If this be so, then the question of the Scriptural character of Independent Congregationalism, and its correspondence with the organization of the Apostolical churches, is at once settled; for the Jewish synagogues were independent congregations, each invested with the right, possessing and exercising the power, to order its own affairs. It was a voluntary assembly; its government administered by rulers or elders elected by the people, who enacted their own laws, received or rejected proselytes, admitted worthy or excluded unworthy members, and, in short, managed their own concerns and governed themselves, by a free, elective, popular government. Everything bearing upon this point in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles shows this to have been the character of the organization and government of the primitive churches. The first act of the disciples, or church at Jerusalem after the ascension was, to fill the place of Judas in the company of Apostles. This was done by *election*. Even the Apostles did not

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\* Kingdom of Christ, p. 83.

claim the right of filling a vacancy in their own body ; they left it to the assembled church, or disciples. It is uncertain even, whether the nomination of the two candidates, Joseph and Matthias, proceeded from them or from the church collectively ; but it is clear, that the election was by the assembly, and whatever may have been its mode, it was an admission on the part of the Apostles, of a right in the people to make the election. The next important act was the election of Deacons, (Acts vi. 1—6). Here the Apostles propose the plan and leave it to the people, the congregation of disciples, to execute it. "Nor was there any ground or reason," says Owen, "why this order and process should be observed, why the Apostles should not themselves nominate and appoint persons, whom they saw and knew meet for this office to receive it, but that it was the right and liberty of the people according to the mind of Christ, to choose their own officers, which they would not abridge or infringe."\* In 2 Corinthians, viii. 19, Paul speaks of a person (*χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*), appointed by the churches to accompany him in his travels ; that is, chosen by a vote of the church, *χειροτονεῖν* meaning, according to the concurring authority of lexicographers, to give one's vote by holding up the hand. In his Epistles he often refers to Timothy and Titus, and mentions Mark, Silvanus, Clemens, Epaphras, as his companions in his missionary labors, his assistants in setting in order the churches, and in these allusions often asserts or implies that they were chosen to this office by the churches.

These examples, and many others that might be adduced, show that the organization and government of the churches planted by the Apostles, were *popular* ; that their officers and delegates were chosen, and, in short, all their affairs ordered by a vote of the assembled congregation or society of disciples. They were Congregational churches, — each church an independent, separate community, acknowledging no diocesan, metropolitan, or patriarchal head, and in the conduct of its worship, the admission of its members, the exercise of its discipline, the choice of its officers, and the entire management of its affairs, submitting to no control from any external body.

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\* Gospel Church. Chap. iv.

We have dwelt the longer upon this point, because it bears directly upon the second. It establishes the efficiency of this system, its capacity to produce all the good of a stronger, a hierarchical organization, with less liability to perversion and abuse, with fewer evils growing out of it. If the Christian Church, starting with a small and humble band of believers in the city of Jerusalem, maintained its existence and made its progress for near two centuries under this form of organization; if, when the world was against it, the Gospel triumphed over the pomp and power, and seeming durability of the world's superstition and idolatry, establishing its kingdom in the hearts of thousands in every province of the Roman empire, and achieved this triumph, as it did, under this simple form of organization; then this organization is *efficient*. We need no stronger evidence of its efficiency than the fact, that it is *that* under which Christianity grew up and made progress during its first two centuries. The two great elements which make it efficient are, we conceive, its simplicity and its freedom. It is an exceedingly simple form of organization, *uninvitingly* simple to such minds as have a taste for pomp and parade, and a complicated arrangement of offices and services. It is just so much organization as is necessary, and no more than is necessary, to the administration, the existence of religion as an external social institution, allowing the individual all the liberty that is compatible with any degree of social organization, and leaving the truth free to unfold itself with progressive beauty and purity, and act with growing power upon the heart and conscience. This is what *Christian religious* organization should be. The Gospel addresses itself primarily to the individual, not to the community; its ultimate and highest results are to be produced in the individual. Through the lofty and controlling energy with which its truths inspire the soul, it would redeem and regenerate the individual; and through the individual reach society, redeem and regenerate that. The more any ecclesiastical organization loses sight of the individual, his rights and responsibilities, cramping and controlling his intellectual and moral action to add to the collective strength and power of the organization, the more opposed is it to the spirit and character of the Gospel. The more any ecclesiastical organization recognises the

rights and responsibilities of the individual, and, in enjoying the one and discharging the other according to the dictates of his own conscience, gives him all the freedom that is compatible with the order and decency, the general rules and regulations that must of necessity be established and observed in the public social administration of religion, the more is it in harmony with the spirit and purpose of the Gospel. In its simplicity and freedom Independent Congregationalism most nearly approaches this happy medium.

During the ministries, under the influence and with the approbation of the Apostles, Christianity first embodied itself, in this form of organization, which, while it is clearly in harmony with its spirit and character, is probably the only one through which Christianity could then have made any progress or gained any footing in the world. Had the Apostles attempted, — we know the supposition is inconsistent with all that we read of their characters and conduct, — but had they attempted to introduce among their converts, to establish over the Christian communities they gathered, a strong or hierarchical organization and government; had they gone forth saying, as the Romanists must suppose them to have said, ‘Our brother Peter is the chief of the Apostles; he is Christ’s vicar upon earth; in the new spiritual kingdom, the Church of Christ, which we are to establish upon earth, all authority and all offices are to emanate from him; he consults with us, we confer with him, and only such officers and teachers as derive authority from us, through the bishops by regular succession, shall be lawful officers and teachers in the Church of Christ, and no efficacy shall accompany, no validity shall attach to the administration of the Gospel by others;’ — had they gone forth making such pretensions, proclaiming such principles as these for the organization and government of the converts to the new religion which they taught, they would, in all human probability, have failed of success. They would have gained no converts to such a system as this. It would have awakened no sympathy in the breasts of the poor and lowly; among the great and powerful it would have stirred up a fierce opposition; and the State, justly jealous of such a rival authority, would have instantly put forth its power to crush and exterminate its authors, while the people would have rejoiced in the

overthrow of men, who claimed such lordship over conscience, and sought to establish such a mighty spiritual despotism. The Apostles succeeded because they claimed not to exercise lordship over God's heritage. They succeeded because the only idea of a Church, a Christian society, which they had in their minds and attempted to realize, was "the beautiful image of a religious fraternity, united together in the bonds of faith and mutual affection, and striving together in purity and love for the promotion of godliness becoming Christian men." They succeeded because of the simplicity and freedom of organization, which, if they did not originate, they encouraged and approved, as in harmony with the spirit of the Gospel, adapted to its efficient administration.

The system which was efficient during the first two centuries, is now and will ever be efficient. It confines itself to religious objects, and seeks to accomplish those objects by moral and spiritual means. It has no entanglement with the State, acknowledges no dependence and seeks no support from civil government. In its influence upon the clergy and the laity, it has every thing to recommend it. It tends to preserve the former from an ambitious or mercenary spirit, from an indolent and formal discharge of the duties of their office, to make them useful, faithful, devoted ministers of the Gospel. Indeed, we have often thought that a strong moral argument might be made out against a hierarchy from its influence, or at least the tendency of its influence, upon the character of the clergy. The meek and lowly Jesus, who forbade his disciples to seek "the uppermost rooms at feasts," and who taught that humility was the loveliest grace, the crowning feature of the Christian character, could not have proposed for his Church an organization that should tend directly and powerfully to foster pride, to encourage ambition, to awaken in the soul that worldly and selfish passion — a desire for power and place, a love of distinction and authority. Yet this is the direct tendency of a hierarchical organization of the Church. We know that some have resisted this tendency, have shown themselves superior to it. We know that in the Roman and English hierarchies there have been men, in both lowly and exalted clerical stations, whose characters were a model of every ministerial grace and virtue, men who in

their meekness and humility of spirit, their large and comprehensive charity, their devoted and indefatigable labors, their eminent fidelity and distinguished usefulness, were an ornament and an honor to the Christian name. Their memories are embalmed in the affection and reverence of mankind. Their labors and characters are the property, not of Rome or of England exclusively, but of the whole Christian world. But these exceptions only prove the rule. The *tendency* of a hierarchy is, to foster pride and ambition in some, a truckling subserviency and sycophancy in others, of the clergy, to engender strife and contention, to tempt to low, base arts and intrigues, through which to rise to the high places of ecclesiastical dignity and power. Ecclesiastical history, the pages of which are filled with the mournful recital of disgraceful contests for these objects, proves this to be the tendency of a hierarchical organization.

It has been said indeed, that the ambitious contentions of the clergy of the primitive Church were the ground and origin of Episcopacy; that it was resorted to "as an expedient to heal their divisions."\* If this were so, it would not be the first instance in which men have sought a remedy worse than the disease. That Episcopacy has such an origin or such an influence, however, it is difficult to prove. That there were differences and contentions among the clergy of the primitive Church, during the period of its free, simple, Congregational organization, we neither deny nor doubt. We have evidences and instances of them even before the close of the New Testament record; but we do not read that any claim was set up or any resort was had to Episcopal authority in order to settle these differences. An explanation given and received in the spirit of mutual confidence, as among brethren and equals, seemed sufficient, if not to reconcile the difference, at least to prevent evil consequences from flowing from it, and, as in the case of Paul and Barnabas after their unhappy division, each left the other at liberty "to prosecute his labors for the salvation of men, without being arrested by the bans of a hierarchy, or trammelled by ecclesiastical jealousy lest the souls whom the one or the other should win to Christianity might chance not to have been canonically converted."

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\* See Coleman's Primitive Church, p. 232, who cites Jerome to this effect.

So at the present day differences and contentions among the ministers of Congregational churches may unhappily arise; but the course sanctioned by the authority of the New Testament and the example of the Apostles, of an explanation given and received in the spirit of mutual confidence, as among brethren recognising each other's perfect equality and independence, is more likely to reconcile these differences, or to prevent their evil influences, than an appeal to any absolute ecclesiastical authority.

Be this as it may, we maintain that differences and contentions are less likely to arise among a body of men recognising in each other perfect official equality and independence, than among a body of men whose organization tempts them to seek pre-eminence one above another, and many of whom must have their eyes fixed, or their hearts struggling for, that post of supremacy, which only one of their number can gain. The whole position in which Congregationalism places the clergy—one in rank, equal in authority, independent of each other, dependent each upon the congregation to which he ministers, accountable to that congregation alone, with no official relations or responsibility beyond it—this whole position is beneficial in its tendency. While it is eminently calculated to preserve peace and harmony among the clergy, and gives little scope to the workings of an unholy ambition, a thirst for office and love of power, it leaves each man free to pursue his great work by such services, such modes of operation and influence as he and his congregation may deem best. No ecclesiastical superior, distant from his position, ignorant of its wants, and consequently incompetent to judge of its duties, has a right to interfere with his ministry, or dictate or control his course. Filling each with a sense of direct and exclusive responsibility to those immediately around him, it teaches circumspection and prudence, while at the same time it inspires zeal, encourages effort, prompts every man to fidelity and devotedness in his sphere; and thus blesses the churches with an useful and efficient ministry,—a ministry who have no prospects of earthly ambition, no high places of ecclesiastical dignity to attain, and whose whole energies and efforts are directed to the spiritual object of the profession.

But the influence of the Congregational organization

upon the laity is equally beneficial. Under a hierarchy the people have little or no concern in the administration or government of the church, little influence, and consequently little comparative interest in religious affairs. The organization under which they are trained gives them but a limited sense of their responsibility to Christ and his Gospel. They are content with the payment of dues demanded, and with the personal observance of the offices and forms of worship. They feel that they have few rights or duties in the church beyond this; that all that is to be done in the church, and by the church for the world, is to be done by others — the priests, bishops and presbyters. This is the tendency, resisted and counteracted to some extent in some cases, still the tendency of the hierarchy — to keep down the laity, to destroy their influence, and consequently diminish their interest in religious affairs. Congregational organization is precisely opposite in its tendency. Here the care of the church, its powers of administration, discipline and effort devolve upon the laity, rest primarily in them. This system trains the people to live and care for the interests of religion. If it invest them with power, it invests them with responsibility also, and in the exercise of the one they are led to recognise the obligations of the other. There are, at least there need be, no drones, or monks, or sinecurists, or cloistered Christians among Congregationalists; no man is kept back from any religious act or effort, "fearing lest he should meet with some outward holy thing in religion, which his very touch or presence might profane." His strength and graces and virtues are called into habitual exercise, and an efficient practical character given to his religion; and "this," says Milton, "I hold to be another considerable reason why the functions of church government ought to be free and open to any Christian man, though never so laic, if his capacity, his faith, and prudent demeanor commend him." "Then would the congregation of the Lord soon recover the true likeness and visage of what she is indeed, a holy generation, a royal priesthood, a saintly communion, the household and city of God."\* In religion, that must be the most efficient system of organization which most calls out the strength and power and interests of the

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\* *Prose Works*, vol. i, p. 167.



people, which makes among men, the greatest number of earnest, devoted, practical *working men* in the cause of Christ, the spread of truth and righteousness. The tendency of the Congregational organization of the church to do this is stronger and more direct than the hierarchical. In regard to the efficiency of Congregational organization we are perfectly willing to leave the subject where Dr. Hall leaves it, by an appeal to its influence upon the New England character, and ask with him, "if it would be any injury to have such institutions and such an administration of religion prevail throughout the world."

We have left ourselves but little space to speak of the present condition and duties of Congregationalists. Among the great body of New England Congregationalists, there is clearly a reviving interest felt in the principles of their ecclesiastical organization. Of the many evidences of this, not the least prominent is the publication, the title of which we have given at the commencement of this article. This publication is the Report of a Committee appointed at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Pastoral Association in Boston, May 29, 1844, "to take into consideration what measures are necessary for the re-affirmation and maintenance of the principles and spirit of Congregationalism." The substance of this Report is, that for the re-affirmation and maintenance of the essential principles of Congregationalism, it is of the first importance that the principles and the rules of church government resulting from them should be well defined and finally established, and for this purpose, Congregational ministers and churches should come to "*a substantial* agreement, and should in all material points adopt the same system of ecclesiastical principles and rules, \* \* \* and should be agreed in *the adoption of a Confession of Faith*." Allusion is made to the want of entire harmony among Congregationalists in sentiment and action respecting the principles of ecclesiastical polity, and the subject is illustrated by reference to "the treatment of church members who are chargeable with offences," to "the discipline of ministers chargeable with immorality or heresy," to "the fellowship of the churches, and the manner in which they are to treat one another when offences occur," and to "the character of those ministers and churches that shall be chosen to constitute mutual councils." The

Report, while it asserts that the Congregational system is contained in the Cambridge Platform, and that the churches do indeed profess in some sort to receive this Platform as their standard, admits that this "ancient document," though the product of men of powerful intellects and well suited to the wants of the churches in their day, "evidently needs revising, in order to fit it for general use at the present time;" that "it contains some principles which cannot now be adopted," "has some obscurities which ought to be removed, and some deficiencies which ought to be supplied;" that "it is understood differently by different ministers and churches, and none of them conform to all its provisions."

"Is it not important," it then asks, "that we should make it our object to come to an agreement as to the principles and rules of church government? If there are passages in the Platform, which all regard as inadmissible at the present day, let us say what those passages are, and let the Platform be so revised and modified that we can unitedly adopt it as our directory, and can govern our ecclesiastical proceedings in accordance with it. It would be found that a judicious revision of the Platform and a convenient arrangement of the rules of our ecclesiastical polity would as truly promote the order and welfare of our churches, as the late revision and arrangement of our civil laws has promoted the order and prosperity of civil society. \* \* \* \* But if it is judged best, as it may be, that the Platform should remain as it is, then it is thought that a digest of rules drawn from the Platform and from approved usages, presented in the form of a Manual of Discipline, would be of essential benefit to the churches. The want of agreement in church polity has been very disadvantageous to the cause of Congregationalism, and, if suffered to remain, will doubtless be more and more disadvantageous."—pp. 13, 14.

In accordance with this suggestion, the Committee proceed to state what in their opinion "are the chief principles of Church polity, which are contained or implied in the Cambridge Platform, and present a draft of a Manual of Church Discipline, which they consider as "very imperfect," and which they lay before their brethren with the view of calling attention to the subject, "leaving it with them by additions and other alterations to complete it," in such form that it "will have a prospect of being adopted by the united act of Congregationalists in Massachusetts, and if it may be, beyond Massachusetts." Towards the

close of their Report the Committee say, "It has appeared to us in every point of view expedient that the whole of the Platform and Confession of Faith, adopted by the Puritan Fathers, should be annexed to the preceding publication, so that ministers and churches may see in one view what Congregationalism was, and what we hope it will, *for substance*, continue to be." The documents are therefore published with the Report, and complete the volume.

What has been the action of the Pastoral Association, or of individual ministers and churches upon this Report, we do not know; but the appointment of the Committee and this result of their labors afford a significant index of the state of things among a large portion of the Congregational body. While they show the ecclesiastical affairs of Congregationalists to be much "at loose ends," with a great want of order and regularity, and established principles and uniform action in their ecclesiastical proceedings, they clearly indicate that on the part of many there is manifest dissatisfaction with this state of things, and a strong desire and determination to remedy the evil, and introduce more of union and organization, a stricter adherence to established principles in ecclesiastical action. There are evidences of a similar state of feeling among the Unitarian portion of the Congregationalists. While among these there are some who would do away with the little ecclesiastical organization and action that we now have, who would discontinue Councils, local or district associations, and apparently all recognition and sympathy between churches as distinct ecclesiastical bodies, there are others who would adhere to "ancient usages," who would re-affirm and maintain the principles and spirit of Congregationalism. We confess ourselves to be among this latter number. We have never supposed that Congregationalism, or that Unitarian Congregationalism had nothing to recommend it but its liberty, or that that liberty was an unbounded license of opinion, in which all religious boundaries and platforms were removed, and the bark of the human soul left to float wide and free upon the billows of thought, drift where the winds and waves of inquiry might carry it, rest where they should permit it to rest, or rest no where, giving account of itself to none, claiming ever and always to bear the Christian

flag and sail on the sea of Christian truth. We have never supposed that the only watch-word and rallying point of Congregationalists was *liberty*, or that they were so free that they could not rally even around that, but must each be not only independent but separate, each pursue a path of his own, and none venture to intimate or assume to have an opinion whether the path of another is right or wrong, Christian or anti-Christian, leading into or out of the Christian fold. Yet this seems to be the idea which some have of Congregationalism. If they are right, then the days of Congregationalism are numbered. In religion we need a rock to stand upon, something firm and stable. The human mind needs, and ever seeks till it finds, a point of repose, something upon which it can rest securely in the fulness and satisfaction of faith. No religious system that does not afford and present this, no system that is on every and all points vague and shadowy, determining no great principles, outlines or boundaries of faith, leaving an utter uncertainty as to what it is in itself, or how far it extends, or who belong to it, or are embraced by it, such a system can never gain power or permanence in the world. Any body of men, call them a denomination, a sect or anti-sectarian sect, let them assume or eschew any or all names, as they please, any body of men attempting in a Christian community to uphold and carry out such a system, must fail. They cannot succeed. They and their adherents will soon find themselves absorbed, according to their affinities, in one or another of the denominations around them, that does offer and maintain something definite, permanent and stable, something upon which faith can rest, around which affections can cluster, to which the soul can cleave and find peace.

We undervalue not the importance of religious liberty. We hold it in devout reverence as a holy and divine thing, man's noblest prerogative, which we would neither disown nor abuse. A calm assertion of it, a manly defence and unshrinking vindication of it against all the malice of intolerance and all the hosts of spiritual power, is a grand and noble work; we honor those who achieve it. But we hold that Christian liberty, like Christianity itself, has its limits and boundaries; and every individual in his own mind places some boundary to it. Even the most *ultra* rationalist

probably does this. Claiming to be a Christian himself, he must have some Christian standard or platform,—the measure of faith that in his judgment places one on Christian ground, gives one claim to the Christian name, apart from which even he would not apply that name. With him that measure is the *reality* and excellence of Christ's life and character and instructions. He denies everything supernatural, but he believes that such a person as Jesus Christ really existed, that he lived a life of consummate purity and benevolence, and uttered instructions of divine wisdom and truth; and on this account he claims to be recognised as a Christian, and considers his liberty infringed and himself persecuted if the supernaturalist does not, because he cannot consistently, so recognise him. But suppose a person to say to the Rationalist, 'I deny not only the supernatural portions of the New Testament record, but I deny the whole as a *reality*; I do not believe that such a person as Jesus Christ ever lived and taught; I believe in the great religious truths and moral principles presented in the New Testament, as delivered by Jesus Christ; I hold them to be the truths and principles by which I ought to govern my life, and I endeavor to govern it by them; I reverence the character described in the New Testament as the character of Jesus Christ; I hold it to be the model and standard by which I ought to form my own character, and I endeavor so to do; I claim therefore, though I deny the *reality* of the whole New Testament record, to be a Christian;'—suppose a person to say this to the Rationalist, must not the Rationalist, if consistent and true to his measure of faith, refuse to recognise him as on Christian ground. Would he not reply to him, — 'The reality of Christ's character is the very substance of Christianity; it is a conviction of its reality, that gives efficacy and power to that character; if you deny that, there is no Christianity, properly speaking, for you — you are not on Christian ground?' We stop not to show that he who denies the reality of the whole of the New Testament record, while he professes to believe and obey its truths, has in fact as good a claim to the Christian name as he who with the same profession denies all its supernatural portions; we have introduced this illustration merely to show, that every in-

dividual has in his own mind some boundaries to Christianity, and consequently some limits to Christian liberty ; and it is a part of his liberty to say what in his judgment those limits are, and to act upon that judgment. So every society or congregation, organized and meeting together for public worship and the administration of Christian ordinances, must have some platform upon which they stand, and beyond which their *Christian* fellowship and sympathies do not, because they cannot, extend. Meeting expressly as Christians, for Christian purposes, they must have some sort of common idea of who or what a Christian is, of the kind and measure of faith that makes a man a Christian and not a Hindoo, or a Jew or Mohammedan ; and their administration of the Gospel must realize this idea, must proceed upon it and virtually declare it. And where a number of societies or congregations hold the same common idea, and act upon and declare it by a general similarity of worship and administration, it may be well for them, — at times a duty, as well as a right and privilege, — collectively to affirm this idea and the general principles and regulations of ecclesiastical polity which grow out of it, and which they endeavor to maintain and apply ; and thus for their own benefit, and the progress of Christ's kingdom and cause, define their positions and strengthen the ties of sympathy and fellowship by which they are united.

This, we believe, is one of the great duties of Congregationalists at the present day — “to re-affirm and maintain the principles and spirit of Congregationalism.” In the Report to which we have already alluded, in speaking of a Convention or Synod for this purpose, and the good, “not overtasking itself with reforms,” it might do for “the credit, order, strength, comfort and usefulness of the church,” the Committee say in a note, “It has often been suggested that with proper attention, the way might be prepared for such a convention to meet in 1848, the second centennial from the time when the Cambridge Platform was adopted. The idea of a convention or Synod of Congregational ministers and churches at that time has struck the minds of all, so far as we know, with peculiar satisfaction.”

This suggestion strikes us favorably, as both important and practicable. We should like to see it carried into effect. The call for such a Convention or Synod would

come with propriety from the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers. Let that body at their annual meeting in May next, call such a Synod, to be composed of the pastor and one lay delegate, (or two lay delegates, where the pulpit is vacant) from every Congregational church in Massachusetts, to meet at such time and place in the year 1848, as the Convention may designate.

The strong objection that will at once arise in most minds to the adoption of this course, is the antecedent probability of such a want of harmony and congruity in this Synod as would prevent the possibility of any great good resulting from it. We admit the force of this objection, but do not think that it ought to have so much weight as to discourage or prevent the enterprise. It would be difficult to predict the result of an assembly thus called and constituted. The spirit of Christianity, eminently the spirit of Congregational Christianity, is that of the Apostle, when he said "Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are without law, as without law, that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak; I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some. And this I do for the Gospel's sake, that I might be partaker thereof with you." That is, it is a spirit which seeks first union and sympathy and coöperation with others, and not contrast and separation. It is a spirit which disposes us to go along with all men as far as we can, and to separate and oppose only when it becomes absolutely necessary. It is a spirit of liberty, but not a liberty swelling with large ideas of individual independence, bristling all over with points of contrast and opposition to others, a liberty which says — 'I can stand alone, and mean to stand alone; I hold the truth and the truth alone — the truth more purely than others hold it; and I can recognise it only as I hold it, and as it affects the relations between my conscience and my God.' It is a liberty compatible with "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace"; which, while it preserves the integrity of the conscience, looks first at the things in which it agrees with others, seeks for points of union and contact, a common bond of sympathy and interest, that shall unite the hearts of others with itself in a fellowship of faith, duty and benevolence. It may be that could the proposed Synod

come together in this spirit, there would not be such a want of harmony, such irreconcilable differences, as are imagined.

From the quotations we have already made from the Report, it is certain that the Platform of 1648, and probably the Confession of Faith of 1680, would not be adopted precisely as they are. Important alterations would probably be made in them, to meet the views and opinions of Orthodox Congregationalists of the present day. In many of these alterations the Unitarian Congregationalists would concur, and perhaps be fully satisfied with them. It might be, perhaps, that the calm and moderate men of both these portions of the Congregational body after friendly discussion and intercourse would find themselves nearer together than they now imagine, and might be able to agree upon some broad platform and confession, some general rules and principles of ecclesiastical polity, which would receive the approbation of a large majority of both the Orthodox and Unitarian Congregationalists, and thus the schism between them be healed, and these two parties like the Calvinists and Arminians of former days, present, as Congregationalists, an undivided front to the world.

For ourselves, we are free to confess that we should rejoice in such a result, and would do what we could, go as far as we could, to produce it; not from any selfish considerations growing out of the effect it might have upon our personal relations and intercourse with our brethren, but for its effect upon Congregationalism and the cause of religious freedom and truth. In this respect we cannot but regard it as a thing greatly to be desired, that the whole body of Congregationalists should be united, and their whole strength, interests, sympathies and coöperation be directed to sustain and perpetuate that simple and efficient system of church polity, with which all that is venerable and all that is glorious in the religious history and character of New England is so immediately connected.

But suppose the proposed Convention or Synod should not result in this union,—and we admit the great improbability that it would,—we are still of opinion that the interests of Congregationalism would be promoted, and a good effect produced upon our churches, by the action of such an assembly. The mere gathering of such a body for such a purpose would serve to awaken fresh interest in the system



of ecclesiastical organization in whose behalf it was convened, direct attention to its claims and diffuse a knowledge of its principles. This would be a benefit. As matters are, the probable result of the action of such a Convention would be the preparation and adoption of two Platforms and Confessions, one by the Orthodox majority and one by the Unitarian minority of the body. But even this is not a result to be deprecated. It would not tend to dissever these parties much, if any, more than they are at present, while it would tend to introduce more of order, system, regularity and adherence to established principles, in the ecclesiastical proceedings of both.

But whatever may be thought of this suggestion of a general Synod, we hold that it is the duty of Congregationalists at the present moment, in some way to define more distinctly their position, "to re-affirm and maintain the principles and spirit" of their organization, and preserve more order and regularity in their ecclesiastical proceedings.—We do not mean that they should attempt to introduce a stringent and oppressive organization. We should not be in favor of any thing of this sort. We could not vote for the adoption of such a manual of discipline as is offered by the Committee of the Massachusetts Pastoral Association. The Committee describe it as imperfect, and speak of additions to be made to it. To us it seems already too large, too minute and particular in its details; and one would think from the fulness of the chapters in relation to the trial of ministers and church members for *immoralities*, that these were things to be expected as common occurrences, and especially to be provided for in a manual of directions for the government of churches. The operation of such a manual of discipline as the one under consideration, would be to produce, not a body of Independent Congregational churches, in sympathy and fellowship with each other, but a confederation or consociation of churches, each under the control of the whole. We should not be in favor of anything that would destroy the independence of individual churches. But we would not have this independence so far preponderate, as to destroy all sympathy, union, co-operation and a general similarity of ecclesiastical proceedings. This seems to be the case at present. We would change this state of things. We would bring back more of that

mutual regard, intercourse and co-operation which once existed among our churches ; we would have this considered as only less important than the preservation of their independence. And for this purpose we would have them declare the ground on which they stand, and the general principle by which they are, and mean to be governed. We would have them adhere to ancient usages which time has hallowed, which experience has shown to be accompanied with many benefits and few evils, and for abandoning which no substantial or conclusive reason can be given. We would have them adhere to Councils, both ordaining and advisory — especially the former. Advisory Councils have sometimes failed to effect much good ; but ordaining Councils, we believe, have always had a good effect. They serve to keep up a high standard of character, of literary and moral qualifications in the clergy, to quicken feelings of sympathy, kindness and mutual interest between churches, and to impress both pastor and people with a deep sense of their reciprocal duties, and their solemn responsibility to God, and to each other. We believe that they can do no harm, and may do much good. We have no strong objection to ordination by the church itself, through its elders or deacons, but in most cases there seem to us manifest advantages in the assembling of a Council. These two modes of ordination — by a Council, or by the church itself — are the only ones known to Congregationalism, and consequently, we presume, the only ones that would be recognised by the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, as conferring the powers and privileges, which the laws assign to *ordained* ministers of the Gospel. We would have them adhere to local or district ministerial associations. We would have them adhere to, and use all wise means and practices that would serve to quicken the sympathies of our ministers and churches, to strengthen the ties of fellowship, to invigorate the sentiment of mutual responsibility and obligation, and to combine the strength and the efforts of all in helping forward those grand moral results which it is the purpose of Christianity to produce.

But the great duty of Congregationalists is, to bring forth in freshness, abundance and beauty, the fruits of faith, to dwell upon the great practical truths, the spiritual realities of the Gospel, till they become the germs of a new and higher life to the soul, till they develop a new and higher

form of the Christian character, — beautiful in its proportions, firm in its foundations, heaven-aspiring and heaven-reaching in its summit. A new and better form of practical Christianity — religion enthroned, her dominion “absolute in the head and heart of society,” — this is the want, the craving of the world. What the world craves, the Gospel prospers. What the Roman Church with a grand ambition conceived, and in a coarse and material manner accomplished, Christianity would spiritually effect, — the subjection of the world to the power of religion, to the influence of its holy truth, its pure and loving spirit. That this effect may be produced, the world must see a beautiful and winning, a commanding and persuasive exhibition of the Christian character. Let Congregationalists strive to present that exhibition. We claim for our administration of the Gospel, that it is eminently practical, as well as simple and Scriptural; that unfettered by hierarchical power and priestly intervention, it makes the strongest and most direct appeals to conscience, exerts a quickening power over the affections, fills the soul with a deep sense of individual responsibility, and imparts a holy and regenerating impulse to all the energies of man’s nature. Let us strive to make this claim good — we are bound to do so. It is no child’s play. It is a great and mighty work. It requires, and will receive, if we seek it, Divine aid. It requires an individual purpose and effort in all our hearts. It requires a clergy, faithful, zealous, persevering, filled with a deep conviction of the responsibilities and grandeur of their office, a devotion of heart and soul and life to its duties. It requires a strong-beating spiritual life in all our churches. A church, a religious society, whose origin has been, whose aim is, the collection of a body of worldly men, who through the forms of an ecclesiastical organization shall answer the purposes of religion — much in the way that unprincipled selfishness is made a substitute for patriotism through modern political organization — can never promote an advance in this great work. It is a spiritual work, and can be done only by spiritual means. Let there be a strong-beating spiritual life in all our churches, and let all our ecclesiastical organizations and usages be such as shall tend to quicken and invigorate this life, and Congregationalism shall remain what it has ever been, the glory and the boast of New England.

S. K. L.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*Discourses and Reviews upon Questions in Controversial Theology and Practical Religion.* By Orville Dewey, D. D. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 368.

Six years ago Dr. Dewey published a smaller volume than this, with the title, "Discourses and Discussions in Explanation and Defence of Unitarianism." The difference between that title and the present may intimate the difference in the volumes. Nearly all of the first is republished in the second, with important additions, not large, but of a more general and practical character. An essay published many years ago, now little known, on "The original use of the Epistles of the New Testament, compared with their use and application at the present day," — a discourse on "Miracles, preliminary to the argument for a revelation," being the Dudleian Lecture of 1836, — a review of Dr. Woods on Inspiration, and another of Dr. Wardlaw on Moral Philosophy, with an article on the Scriptures as the record of a revelation, first published in the Examiner, — and two discourses never before printed, — all these distinguish the volume before us from its predecessor. There is also the addition of some Notes, one of which is admirable as a reply to Professor Stuart's unmanly and disingenuous assault on Dr. Dewey and Mrs. Dana, in his late volume of Miscellanies. The new discourse on "Faith, and justification by faith," seems to us one of the clearest and ablest treatises we have seen, for so brief a one, on a subject usually darkened by theological and metaphysical abstractions. The other discourse, now first printed, with the rather awkward title — "That errors in theology have sprung from false principles of reasoning" — aims to show, and to our mind makes it very clear, that the prevailing and popular theology is entirely "at war with the true inductive philosophy."

A volume from Dr. Dewey on such themes, comprising also what he had before written on the common points of religious controversy, is a most valuable addition to the means we already have of answering the question, — what is Unitarianism? A few years since it was not easy to answer this question, by referring to entire volumes or large treatises. But he who now follows Burnap, Peabody and Dewey through the books they have lately issued, and still asks, what is Unitarianism, either does not wish to know, or knows too well. Each of these writers

occupies a separate place, though in the same department. Each is so individual and independent, its form of expression, mode of illustration, and the whole treatment of subjects, that, with entire harmony of opinion, there is no repetition, and scarcely a similarity of argument. In this respect, Dr. Dewey is particularly prominent. He is original. And one characteristic of his originality, not often found in this connection, is the simple, common-sense manner, in which he treats the highest themes. He makes religion intelligible, and in the best sense practical. He brings it out of schools and churches into the street and life. With profound reverence for God and all things sacred, he writes like a man among men. Neither mysterious nor mystical, he is sober, earnest, profound, and perfectly simple. No one can read his pages candidly, and not find himself engaged in something real, and something that belongs not to verbal questions or outward interests, but to the whole man and the endless existence.

But to speak of Dr. Dewey's merits as a writer or reasoner, is quite unnecessary. We desire only to make the volume known as something more than a republication, though as such alone it would have been welcome; for the former volume it is not easy to find, and this is not only more full, but far superior in execution and whole appearance. H.

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*Ecclesiastical Reminiscences of the United States.* By the Rev. EDWARD WAYLEN, late Rector of Christ Church, Rockville, Maryland, eleven years resident in America. New York. 1846. 8vo. pp. 501.

FROM some expressions, which met our eye on first opening this volume, we supposed that the author must be a Roman Catholic. Thus, in his preface, he speaks of the "Church Catholic growing up so strong amid surrounding strife and disunion;" and to "Catholic readers, nothing," he says, "relating to their fellow-Catholics of the United States can be altogether uninteresting; and it is for Catholic readers that this book is written." On reading further, however, we find that he is a veritable son of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and by "fellow-Catholics of the United States," speaking as an Englishman, he means, the members of said Episcopal Church here, amounting "to two millions, under twenty-eight bishops and thirteen hundred inferior clergy." The work, however, is anything but catholic. A more thoroughly sectarian volume, marked by greater bigotry and exclusiveness, it has seldom fallen to our lot to take into our hands. The author, it seems, came over to this country in 1834, and soon after visited Boston, where in the pro-

gress of the Church since 1776 he finds much to comfort him. At that period "the heathen [Congregationalists, and others] had come into the inheritance of the Lord, and laid Jerusalem on heaps." "The property of the Church had been alienated." "Her enemies had confederated together against her—Edom with Moab—the Philistines," etc. Not so now. Other sects are on the decline, while Episcopacy is triumphant. A "considerable portion" of the Unitarian sect "has since," the writer informs us, "lapsed into transcendentalism." This information will be new to many of his readers, and equally so the intelligence given on the next page, that during the author's "first winter" in Boston, (1834, we infer,) the "cold" there "*frequently* caused a fall in the thermometer of 20 degrees below zero"! Next summer the writer makes a tour into New Hampshire, where he picks up a "bear story"; learns something more about "dissenters," and arrives at the conclusion that Calvinism in New England has "given birth to all the Socinianism, transcendentalism, universalism, and atheism, which is now rife in that section of the country." On his return he stops at Salem, and devotes some fifty or sixty pages to an account of the "witchcraft delusion," "Puritan cruelties," etc. He afterwards gets to Philadelphia, attends the "General Convention of 1835" there, gives a long account of the "Kenyon College troubles," comes back to Rhode Island, and indulges in reflections on the consequences of "sustaining religion" by the "Voluntary system," which, says he, are "just such as might be expected." "In several parts of New England" Sunday "is not in *any manner* [the italics are his] distinguished from the other days of the week." "All the avocations of business and pleasure go on as usual." He descants on the "prevalent infidel opinions among the farmers of Connecticut," and other matters of like sort. He finally takes orders and settles in the ministry at Jamestown (Cannanicut Island), but soon leaves and bids "farewell to New England," not however without much laudation of Episcopacy there and remarks on the decline of Congregationalism, and especially Unitarianism, which "few of the younger members of Unitarian congregations understand or care about." Thus we get through nearly one half of the volume, and the rest is made up of similar materials. We spare our readers a further analysis. We think that the prayer of the American (Episcopal) Church must be, that it may be delivered from its friends. Such writers as Waylen do more than any, or all other causes to awaken hostile feelings towards it. It is but justice to add, that Episcopal journals have themselves exposed the gross inaccuracy of many of his statements respecting their own Church.

We congratulate the writer on having finally escaped from a country from which, the "conservative" influence of the Church

notwithstanding, "close carriages and coaches, public and private," are "so universally banished"; for "it is a fact," says he, "which I can *feelingly* [so he prints] attest, that during the whole term of my residence in the United States I never saw one"! What is almost as bad, the people here do not even understand the word "city," which designates, or should designate the place which is the residence of a Bishop, whereas here it is "applied," he says, "only to large corporate towns, with or without a resident bishop." After all, however, we cannot make up our minds to be very severe on Mr. Waylen. He is a foreigner, not very liberally endowed by nature and but moderately educated, — a well meaning man, we should say, but very credulous, accepting as true everything advantageous to his Church found in boastful pamphlets, and gasconading speeches at anniversary meetings of its members, of which several amusing examples might be given. The author might have taken as the motto of his work a sentiment which he endorses, and which we present as it stands on his page, not omitting the capitals:—"They [other denominations] are sects — WE THE CHURCH."

L.

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*A Universal and Critical Dictionary of the English Language: to which are added Walker's Key to the Pronunciation of Classical and Scripture Proper Names, much enlarged and Improved; and a Pronouncing Vocabulary of Modern Geographical Names.* By JOSEPH E. WORCESTER. Boston: Wilkins, Carter & Co. 1846. Royal 8vo. pp. lxxvi. and 956.

FOR ordinary use this is undoubtedly by far the best Dictionary of the English language now before the public. The scholar will still, as he has need, turn to Johnson, Richardson, and occasionally to Webster, but he will find here many helps which they do not afford, either singly or combined; and to one, learned or unlearned, who is not furnished with the productions of these three distinguished lexicographers, there is no work which, for all the various purposes for which a dictionary is consulted, will yield the assistance he will derive from Worcester. We cannot within the limits of a brief notice present a full statement of its merits. As a vocabulary of the English language the author has taken great pains to render it as complete as the nature of the case admitted, having added "nearly 27,000 words not found in Todd's edition of Johnson." These he has collected from various sources, and especially from an extended course of reading, and he has been particularly careful to "note such words as are technical, foreign, obsolete or antiquated,

local or provincial, low or exceptionable," — a labor from which young writers and all persons whose taste is not yet formed, or who are not intimately acquainted with the best usage, will derive great benefit. For words of recent origin or doubtful propriety authorities are cited. A large portion of the words, especially such as relate to the arts and sciences, have been defined anew, and others have undergone careful revision as to their orthography, etymology, signification, etc. Much care, too, has been bestowed on the pronunciation. This was very necessary. Since Walker wrote, fifty or sixty years ago, the standard of polite pronunciation has undergone some change, and the London publishers of Walker have found it necessary to revise his system. With respect to "words of various, doubtful or disputed pronunciation" he gives the authorities for the different modes, thus enabling the reader to make an enlightened choice. Some extremes we have been pleased to see beginning to be corrected of late in the prevailing mode of pronouncing vowels, — an effect which we believe may be attributed, in part at least, to the use of Mr. Worcester's "Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary" published several years ago. Thus lads and misses from some of our schools, and many public speakers gave to the *a* in such words as *fast*, *last*, etc. the short sound as in *hat*, *fat*, instead of the intermediate sound between that and the Italian sound, as in *far*, *father*, which, we suppose is the sound now given to it in the best circles here and abroad. We still sometimes hear the last syllable of the word, *often*, pronounced with a full sound, like the numerical *ten*. Worcester gives nine authorities, nearly all which are ever quoted to settle cases of disputed pronunciation, all of which represent the sound of the last syllable by *fn*; not one represents it by *ten*. We should like to have the teachers of our youth look to this.

There is a great deal of useful subsidiary matter found in Mr. Worcester's volume, and the grammatical forms and inflections of words are given more fully than in any previous dictionary. To Walker's "Key to the Classical Pronunciation of Greek, Latin and Scripture Proper Names," he has added some notes from English critics, and a few of his own. L.

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*Lectures on Education.* By HORACE MANN, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Boston: Wm. B. Fowle & N. Capen. 1845. 12mo. pp. 338.

THIS volume, which has been before the public some months, has drawn less attention than we should have expected, except that everything on the subject of Education is received with



singular indifference. No one is really indifferent to such facts and truths as are here given, when fairly considered. Few publications have met our eye on this hackneyed theme, so fresh, so suggestive, so rich in illustration, entertaining and pungent in sarcasm, serious and moving in appeal. There are seven Lectures, on different subjects, but all having direct relation to the means, objects, or management of common school education. Five of these lectures were prepared for the annual Conventions, which Mr. Mann was required to attend in the several counties of the State, for five years after he took the office of Secretary of the Board of Education. The other two lectures, on "School Libraries" and "School Punishments," were delivered before Teachers' Associations, Lyceums, etc. The whole was prepared for the press, and published in this convenient form, by a special and unanimous vote of the Board.

These lectures are meant for the people. Mr. Mann goes into no profound discussions, and proposes no new or extended theories: but shows the common wants of our schools, the prevalent errors of opinion and practice, the mournful neglect of preparation for the work of teaching, and the low and ruinous idea of economy in regard to education, in most legislative bodies, and among many parents who are economical in nothing else. His historical views of education, particularly in relation to its "dignity and its degradation," present a solid amount of facts, with which few probably are familiar, and which none can study without profit. Throughout the whole there is a high moral tone, which must strengthen in every reader the sense of individual accountableness on this subject. There is likewise a pervading discrimination, freedom from extravagance and extremes, which some may not expect to find, especially on such questions as those pertaining to school discipline.

Were we to criticise, we should advert to a fault which we have noticed before in this writer, though there are few instances in this volume, namely, the use of new and hard words, quite unnecessary, particularly in a writer of so varied and rich a vocabulary. "We are *derelect* from our duty" — "If a child *appetizes* his books" — are expressions which should not appear in a work on Education, and could be spared everywhere. H.

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*Correggio: a Tragedy, by Æhlenschlager. Sappho: a Tragedy, by Grillparzer. With a Sketch of the Autobiography of Æhlenschlager. Translated from the German.* Boston: Phillips & Sampson. 1846. 12mo. pp. 303.

UPON comparing this translation of Correggio, not cursorily, with our copy of the original, we find a few errors and several omissions; and it strikes us that the translator, in attempting to

give the quiet and simplicity of Cehlenschlager, has not given much more than a paraphrase of the piece. Still, the charm of isolated passages is apparent. The versification, without being elaborate, might have been more careful and regular, and thus by no means diminished the quiet beauty and the natural flow of thought which mark the drama. "Correggio" is an interesting subject, and is well, though not strikingly or powerfully, developed. The flow and business of the piece harmonize with a quiet artist-life. A *manager* would have advertized it as a "domestic drama," rather than a tragedy, albeit the fortunes of Correggio, the disappointed worshipper of the ideal, are tragic.—Grillparzer's "Sappho" is a third-rate play, hardly worth translating; though it strikes us that Mrs. Lee has in this instance done better than with Correggio. We must thank that accomplished lady for her sketch of Cehlenschlager, so fresh and racy that we were grieved it was so short. W.

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*A Practical Treatise on Ventilation.* By MORRILL WYMAN. Cambridge: Metcalf & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 419.

THIS will be found a very useful book on a subject intimately connected with comfort and health. It is sufficiently thorough for all ordinary purposes, and though strictly practical, as it professes to be, it does not neglect those scientific expositions, which are necessary to show the reason of the rules laid down, and the general laws according to which the several processes described take place. Ample drawings as given, and an appendix of tables, etc.—the whole forming a volume which does great credit to the author, and cannot fail of benefiting the public. We especially recommend it to architects of churches, and parish committees. L.

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*The Olneys; or, Impulse and Principle.* By ANNIE W. ABBOT, author of "Willie Rogers," etc. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1846. 18mo. pp. 46.

A good moral tale, adapted to the capacity of youth, is a gift to the public, which, though diminutive and humble in appearance, we regard as of greater value than many of the volumes that arrogate to themselves far higher importance. When, therefore, a production of uncommon excellence in this department of writing is put into our hands, we hasten to recommend it to our readers, while, it may be, works of more showy pretension, but of less real merit, are allowed by us to remain for a time unnoticed. Such a book we deem the one whose title is given above; and we are glad of an opportunity of advising our young friends to seek the pleasure and profit, which this book from Miss Abbot's pen is fitted to afford them. B.

*My Wife.* By Mrs. S. C. TUTTILL. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 18mo. pp. 171.

THIS is a sort of novel in miniature, designed to show what is good as good, and what is evil as evil, in the habits of thought, feeling and conduct which distinguish certain classes of society amongst us, especially as regards domestic life. And if to give, in a way to produce the best moral effect, at once a brief and complete, connected and distinct, striking and just view of characters, qualities, actions, and their consequences, which in the real world are seen but partially and by glimpses, involved in many accidental circumstances, and seldom manifesting themselves fully except in a long series of years, be success in this species of literature, it has been attained, we think, in a remarkable degree by the author of the little volume before us. B.

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*An Elementary Treatise on Curves, Functions and Forces.* Volume Second, containing Calculus of Imaginary Quantities, Residual Calculus, and Integral Calculus. By BENJAMIN PIERCE A. M., Perkins Professor of Astronomy and Mathematics in Harvard University. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 290.

THIS volume is marked with almost every excellence that can be sought in a work of the kind. In beauty and compactness of symbols, in terseness and simplicity of style, in vigor and originality of thought, and in happy selection of lines of investigation, it equals the first volume; — as high praise as we could bestow. \*H.

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*Lyrica Sacra; or, War-Songs and Ballads from the Old Testament.* By WILLIAM PLUMER, Jr. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1846. 16mo. pp. 68.

THE author of these lyrics regards only the poetic element in the ancient Hebrew literature; with its theology he has nothing to do. He gives the "Song of Moses and Miriam," and of "Deborah and Barak"; "Saul with the Witch of Endor"; the "Song of the Bow," or David's Lament; and "Absalom." His object is not to give a translation or paraphrase of the original, but to employ language, imagery and sentiments suited to his "own conception of the scenes described." Complete success in an attempt of this sort requires rare powers, and besides the natural difficulties of the subject, men are in these days, fortunately we think, looking to the Bible for "angel melodies" of peace, rather than fierce war-notes. L.

*Thoughts, selected from the Writings of the Rev. William E. Channing, D. D.* Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 32mo. pp. 160.

A COLLECTION of noble thoughts, that may well take its place by the side of the celebrated thoughts of Pascal, which have in them more of metaphysics, but less that touches the human heart. It makes a beautiful pocket volume. L.

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*Sacred Meditations.* By P. L. U. Boston: Waite, Pierce & Co. 1846. 32mo. pp. 160.

A MINIATURE volume full of devout ejaculations on various texts of Scripture, the effusion evidently of a pure and devout soul, but dealing a little too much in barren generalities to suit our taste. The initials will indicate the author's name to her friends, and conceal it, as she probably wishes, from the public. L.

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*The People's Journal.* A new illustrated periodical for all classes. Edited by John Saunders. Published in weekly Numbers, monthly Parts, or half-yearly Volumes. London. 1846. Boston: Crosby & Co.

WE have looked over several numbers of this journal with great satisfaction. It affords pleasant and instructive reading, furnished by writers whose single aim is, to give "the people" that kind of intellectual entertainment which may at once arouse and inform their minds. With such contributors as Mr. and Mrs. Howitt, Miss Martineau, and W. J. Fox—to name no others—zealously engaged in carrying out his plan, the editor can hardly fail of success. We cordially recommend the work as well adapted for circulation in this country. G.

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*A Statement of Reasons for rejecting the Calvinistic Doctrine of the Trinity, Atonement, Unconditional Election and Reprobation, Total Depravity, etc.* Read before the Congregational Calvinistic Church in Southington, Conn., May 29th, 1846. By CHARLES E. MUNN. Hartford. 1846. 12mo. pp. 45.

*The Day of Small Things.* A Centennial Discourse, delivered in Northborough, June 1, 1846, in commemoration of the Organization of the First Congregational Church in that place, and the Ordination of their first Minister, one hundred years ago. With an Appendix. By JOSEPH ALLEN, the third

Minister in succession of said Church. Boston 1846. 8vo. pp. 64.

*The Consolations of Old Age. A Sermon preached at the First Unitarian Church in Dover, N. H., on the 28th of June, 1846, being the one hundredth Birth-day of Ezra Green, M. D., the oldest living Alumnus of Harvard College.* By S. K. LOTHROP, Pastor of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston. Boston. 1846. 8vo. pp. 25.

*The Distinctive Characteristics of the Pilgrims. A Sermon preached at the Church of the Pilgrims, in Lowell, Mass., July 12th, 1846.* By M. A. H. NILES, Pastor. Lowell. 1846. 8vo. pp. 16.

*The Moral Influence of the American Government: An Oration delivered at Albany, N. Y., July 4th, 1846, before the Young Men's Association.* By HENRY F. HARRINGTON. Albany. 1846. 8vo. pp. 8.

*An Address, delivered at Medfield, before the Norfolk County Washington Total Abstinence Society, July 4, 1846.* By EDGAR K. WHITAKER. Boston. 1846. 8vo. pp. 16.

*The Scholar, the Jurist, the Artist and the Philanthropist. An Address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, at their Anniversary, August 27, 1846.* By CHARLES SUMNER. Boston. 1846. 8vo. pp. 72.

*A Poem, delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, Alpha of Massachusetts, on its Anniversary, August 27, 1846.* By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. Boston. 1846. 8vo. pp. 24.

*Might and Right: An Oration delivered before the Erosophian Adelphi of Waterville College, August 12, 1846.* By E. H. CHAPIN. Boston. 1846. 8vo. pp. 40.

*The Claim of the Church of Rome to the Exercise of Religious Toleration during the Proprietary Government of Maryland, Examined.* By JOSIAH F. POLK. Washington. 1846. 8vo. pp. 32.

MR. MUNN's "Statement of Reasons," which he seems in some sort to have been forced to make in self-defence, is marked by plain common sense and strong argument, and being addressed to a "Calvinistic church," it must have been found easier, we should imagine, to deal with the author in the way of ecclesiastical censure or excommunication than to refute him from reason or Scripture. — Mr. Allen has given a very pleasant discourse on an occasion that he and his church did well to celebrate. As he reviews the "beginnings" of their history, with the ministries of his predecessors in the pastoral office, he presents many curious facts and interweaves appropriate remarks. The minuteness of many of his details must have increased the

interest of the performance with those for whom it was intended. — Mr. Lothrop well sets forth the advantages, pleasures and comforts of "an honorable, virtuous, Christian old age," then passes to such notice as it was proper to take in a sermon, of the individual, still living, who had suggested the subject of discourse. The appendix contains some interesting biographical and other matter. — Mr. Niles's Sermon is an ingenious and successful vindication of the right of his congregation to consider themselves as true successors of the Puritan fathers of New England. In regard to the propriety of giving any *human* name to an association of persons united for the purposes of Divine worship, or to the building which they occupy for these purposes, we differ from Mr. Niles and his friends, but his assertion of their claim to "spiritual kindred with the founders of the New England churches" is both "manly and satisfactory." — Mr. Harrington's Fourth of July Oration contains a spirited defence of the framers of the Constitution in regard to the subject of slavery, and a bold reproof of the course since pursued by the nation, resulting in an extension of the evil. — Mr. Whitaker's is an animated Address, uniting with some historical matter an earnest plea for temperance, but dealing a little in what some will call illiberal censure. — Without attempting any profound discussion or dealing in subtile analysis, (which would be out of place in a Phi Beta Kappa Oration,) but in a brilliant and highly eulogistic style, abounding in classical allusion, Mr. Sumner calls up four distinguished forms marked by a devotion to "knowledge, justice, beauty, and love," — Pickering, Story, Allston, and Channing. The four are well grouped and beautifully harmonize; and the eminent qualities of the individuals, with the fact that their names this year appear on the catalogue of the Society *stellated* for the first time, mark the fitness of the theme and justify the tribute. — The moral tone of the Poem is in keeping with the oration, and though its artistic merit is not of the highest order, the sentiment will win the sympathies of every honest reader. — The pervading sentiment of Mr. Chapin's Oration, which is marked by fresh thought and eloquence, falls in with that of the two performances last named. He traces historically the different conceptions of power, speaks of its practical development at the present period, which he calls a "transition epoch," and then turns to that more glorious epoch in the future, in hastening the coming of which the scholar has much to do. It is his, to establish "the true idea of power, as identified with truth and love." — Mr. Polk's pamphlet contains an article republished from the Washington "Investigator" for January, 1846, calling in question the claim of the Roman Catholic Colony of Maryland to the credit of religious toleration, with a somewhat elaborate defence of the argument used in said article.

## INTELLIGENCE.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*Ecclesiastical Record.*—But few changes have taken place in the pastoral relation since the issue of our last number.—Rev. Mr. Maynard of Needham has closed his connexion with the church in that place.—Rev. Mr. Dall has resigned his charge of the ministry-at-large in Portsmouth, N. H.—Rev. Mr. Ware of Fall River has relinquished his ministry in that place.—Rev. Mr. Eliot of St. Louis, Mo., has been compelled by the state of his health, which his incessant labors have seriously impaired, to seek the benefit of at least a year's suspension of professional service.—Rev. Mr. Furness of Philadelphia has declined an invitation to become the pastor of the church in New Bedford.

Rev. Mr. Fisher of Ireland, who has been in this country a few months, has been engaged to preach for a time in a hall in the eastern part of this city, to such Irish Protestants as may be disposed to form themselves into a congregation. We hope the attempt to furnish this class of our citizens with suitable religious instruction may be successful.—We learn that among the German emigrants to the United States are many who have received the opinions which Ronge has disseminated through a portion of the Roman Catholic Church. It is important that they should be provided with the means of establishing themselves in a sound Scriptural faith.

We may with propriety notice under this head the addition to the means of professional education furnished at the Meadville Theological School, by the appointment of Elder David Millard, of the Christian Connexion, to the Professorship of Biblical Antiquities and Sacred Geography.—The retirement of Rev. Dr. Woods from the Professorship of Christian Theology in the Andover Seminary is a circumstance, in which other bodies of Christians than that to which he belongs may feel an interest. Dr. Woods by his writings, and still more by the effect of his instruction on the hundreds of young men brought up at his feet, has exerted an important influence upon theological opinion in New England, and if other causes have notwithstanding given it a more liberal tone than he desired, we honor his fidelity as a Gamaliel of the straiter sect not the less because we rejoice in his disappointment.

*Ministry at Large.*—The ordination of Mr. Winkley, of which our readers will find some notice on a subsequent page, reminds us of the firmness and breadth of position which the ministry-at-large in Boston has acquired. Just twenty years ago Dr. Tuckerman began his labors here, in an inconvenient building hired for the purpose. Now three large and substantial chapels are devoted to the uses of this charity. Five ministers are employed in its service, two of whom, Dr. Bigelow and Mr. Burton, are engaged principally in visiting the poor and friendless, two, Mr. Cruft and Mr. Winkley, are more

immediately connected with the Suffolk Street and Pitts Street Chapels, and one, Mr. Barnard, bestows his chief attention on the neglected children and exposed youth, of whom so many may be found in our city. At no time since the commencement of this ministry has it possessed such means, or presented such a promise of efficiency.

In some of our other cities the work has been interrupted by causes which will produce, we believe, only a temporary effect. Mr. De Lange, who has been engaged for some months at St. Louis, has gone to Meadville, that by a year's connexion with the Theological School he may be still better qualified for the duties of a Christian minister. In Baltimore, Md. and Portsmouth, N. H. the places recently occupied are now vacant, but they only stand empty to invite those who are willing to enter so wide a field of usefulness. In Charlestown, Mass. a purpose long contemplated of establishing such a ministry is likely to result very soon in arrangements, which we may notice hereafter. In Portland, Me. a similar purpose will, we trust, be soon carried into effect.

The notices which from time to time we see of the operation of the ministry-at-large in England are equally satisfactory with what we observe of its progress here. In London it has obtained within the last year increased facilities for the execution of its great design. In Birmingham, besides the Domestic Mission under the care of Mr. Bowring, another has been established under the title of the "New Meeting Ministry to the Poor," in whose service Mr. John G. Brooks has been employed for nearly a year.

The Reports which the ministers-at-large, both in England and in this country, annually present to their friends, are most valuable documents, and ought to have a larger circulation than we fear they find. The Reports made to the Fraternity of Churches by those whom they have sent into this field, abound in facts and suggestions which the whole community should ponder. The inquiries which one of the ministers had made on the subject of licentiousness afforded materials for a paper prepared by him the last spring, from which extracts only could be given to the public, but these were sufficient to establish the importance of consideration and effort on the part of those who would not leave the morals of the city to a fearful deterioration. Mr. Barnard's last Report of the various agencies connected with the Warren Street Chapel, cannot be read without a feeling of deep and hopeful interest. Mr. Wood's Report from Lowell, contains much to awaken thought in others besides those to whom it is particularly addressed. Other denominations are not so negligent as to leave this great enterprise of Christian love and duty to us, but the Reports of their missionaries, so far as we have seen them, do not embody so much of the information or discussion which are needed to enlighten the public on this momentous subject.

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*Evangelical Alliance.* — It is difficult to speak of the assembly which has lately been convened in London under this name, in terms that shall not seem to conflict with one another, so different are the aspects which it presents as we look at it from different directions. As an honest attempt to break down the prejudice and jealousy which place the various parts of the Christian Church in hostile relations, it is



worthy of all praise ; but the moment we look at the history of its proceedings, it loses all title to respect, and we are tempted to speak of it as the great ecclesiastical farce of the age. If long preparation and diligent inquiry into the proper methods of action could inspire confidence, one might have thought a guarantee was provided for a wise and successful prosecution of the noble purpose entertained by the friends of the measure. Yet long before the meeting of the Alliance an error was committed, which involved a sure defeat of its professed design. An enterprise, the object of which was the promotion of Christian union in opposition to sectarian strife, became, as soon as it took a definite form, a conference of "Evangelical Protestants." At its commencement therefore, it assumed an antagonistic rather than a conciliatory attitude. And the more its character was exposed, the more plainly was it seen to be in fact an anti-Liberal and anti-Catholic association. It was nothing more nor less than an attempt to combine the sympathies of Orthodox Protestantism against the errors of Rome and the heresies of free thought ; and this was the great contribution of the present age to the cause of Christian union ! We doubt not that there were many pleasant hours (as well as some anxious scenes, we suspect) which they who formed the Alliance will remember with satisfaction. But a union founded on a creed so narrow as that which was adopted as the basis of union, consist though it do of only nine articles, is nothing but a coalition of sects, or of members of different sects, against what they deem common enemies — a compact of mutual amity for mutual defence — an Achaean league, presenting a front of defiance to Macedonia on the one side and to Sparta on the other. From an Alliance constituted as was that which for many successive days held its meetings in London in August last, we anticipate no good result. The discussions upon admitting Universalists and slaveholders to the rights of membership, briefly as they have been communicated to the public, in consequence of a vote refusing seats to reporters, afford some curious glimpses into the state of feeling which prevailed. The former were excluded, the latter were *let alone*. Czerski, who seems to have visited London for the purpose, was not allowed to occupy a place among these Christian brethren, while not a word appears to prevent the reception of any one, whatever be his character, who accepts the "Evangelical views, in regard to matters of doctrine," which the Alliance have pronounced sound and sufficient. In a word, the whole structure of love and joy, which has been made the subject of so much congratulation, was raised upon a purely doctrinal basis, and there it rests, to be admired by those who believe that dogmatic faith is the life of religious sympathies.

As to the number of those who have joined the Alliance, it certainly is not large enough to form a very impressive representation of the Christian world, nor is it small enough to create discouragement in those who are interested in the measure. More than a thousand members were present, clergymen and laymen, and the names of twenty-five hundred are said to have been obtained. Sixty came from America, and several from the continent of Europe. The Methodist Connexion, the Scotch Church, and the English Congregationalists or Independents, with the American ministers, seem to have taken most interest in the scheme. But a small portion of the clergy of

the Establishment in England gave it their countenance. Seven Branches of the Alliance were constituted, one for Great Britain and Ireland, one for the United States, one for France, Belgium and French Switzerland, one for the North of Germany, one for the South of Germany and German Switzerland, one for British North America, and one for the West Indies; with whom is left the prosecution of the purposes contemplated by this organization. A General Conference is to be held at such time and place as shall be determined by unanimous concurrence, — when we shall probably hear more of the Evangelical Alliance.

*Ordinations and Installations.* — REV. WILLIAM HOBART HADLEY, a former member of the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as an Evangelist (with a special view to his taking charge of the church in Montague, Mass.) in the Chapel of the Church of the Saviour in Boston, September 2, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston, from John xviii. 37; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Walker of Cambridge; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Francis of Cambridge; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Muzzey and Hodges of Cambridge.

REV. EDWIN J. GERRY, formerly of Athol, was installed as pastor of the church in STANDISH, Me., September 23, 1846. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell, from Matthew xv. 6; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland, Me.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Wheeler, of Topsham, Me.; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Cutler of Portland, Me.; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Mr. Nichols of Saco, Me.; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Tenney of Kennebunk, Me., and Miles of Lowell, Mass.

REV. SAMUEL HOBART WINKLEY, of Providence, R. I., a recent graduate from the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as a Minister at large, "to take charge of the Pitts Street Chapel," in Boston, October 11, 1846, the services being conducted in the Bulfinch Street church. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston, from Luke xiv. 21; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I.; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Cruft, Gray, and Bigelow, of Boston.

#### MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*Monumental Inscriptions.* — The monument erected in Mount Auburn to the memory of Rev. Dr. Tuckerman was opened to the view of the public by brief religious services on one of the most delightful days of the present autumn, September 30, when all the influences of nature harmonized with the character of the occasion. The monument is of free-stone, and consists of "a square shaft or die, standing on a base and plinth, and crowned with a capital and curved spire terminating in a cross." On the four sides are "raised tablets," bearing the following inscriptions.

On the front, beneath a head of Dr. Tuckerman cut in bas relief, in which the success of the artist in obtaining a likeness will strike every one, is simply the name,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

On the rear.

Born in Boston, Mass.

January 18, 1778.

Died in Cuba, W. I.

April 20, 1840.

On the right.

For Twenty Five Years

A faithful Minister of

Jesus Christ

In the Village of Chelsea,

And for Fourteen Years

a devoted Missionary

To the suffering and neglected

Of the City of Boston,

His best Monument is

The Ministry at Large;

His appropriate title,

The Friend of the Poor.

On the left.

This Monument is erected

By Friends to whom

His Memory is dear

For the services

He rendered,

And the impulse he gave,

To the cause of

Christian Philanthropy.

Having in a former number of the Examiner (for November, 1844) given the inscriptions on the monuments erected to the memory of those four men who did so much to illustrate the character and power of our faith—Channing, Buckminster, Kirkland, and Worcester, and having now added the epitaph over the grave of one of kindred spirit, we are prompted by the associations which connect their names in our grateful regard with those of two other honored and beloved ministers of the truth, to copy the inscriptions upon the tablets which the congregation worshipping in King's chapel in this city have placed in the chancel of their church. Each of them is surmounted by a finely chiselled bust, one executed by Clevenger, the other by King.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN, D. D.

Pastor of this Church, chosen April 21, 1783.

Ordained Nov. 18, 1787. Died Nov. 14, 1835, aged 76 years.

Dr. Freeman was the first Unitarian preacher in this city; and he adorned the doctrine he professed, by his Christian simplicity, purity and faithfulness, by the benevolence of his heart, and the benignity

of his manners. Respect for his talents, and for the courageous honesty

and firmness with which he maintained his opinions, was mingled with love for his mildness and affectionate sympathy.

In theological attainments there were few, and in the qualities which endear a minister to his people, there were none to surpass him.

—  
This bust was placed here, Dec. 16, 1843,  
by a grateful congregation.

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REV. FRANCIS WILLIAM PITT GREENWOOD, D. D.  
The Colleague and Successor of Dr. Freeman as Pastor of this Church,  
Chosen July 11, 1824. Settled Aug. 29, 1824. Died Aug. 2, 1843.  
Aged 46 years.

Endowed with rare powers of observation and expression,  
his services in the pulpit were distinguished  
for their beauty, truth, and persuasiveness.  
The natural earnestness of his manner left no doubt of his sincerity;  
the justness of his thoughts no room for censure;  
and the poetical beauty of his language no opportunity for objection.  
His character, as developed through long years of lingering disease,  
corresponded with that of his writings;  
it was truly Christian, consistent and attractive.

—  
His people have placed this bust here in affectionate commemoration  
of his wisdom and his virtues, March, 1845.

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*Harvard University.* — The Inauguration of Hon. Edward Everett, LL. D. as President of the University, which took place on Thursday, April 30, 1846, was an event which the friends of the institution hailed with peculiar feelings of satisfaction and hope. The Address which Mr. Everett then delivered, showed the earnestness of purpose with which he entered on his duties, and the desire he felt to give a moral and religious tone to the academic life of which he was appointed the guardian. The influence which has since been exerted by the President discovers the same purpose, in which we trust he will be supported by every officer of the institution and every parent whose son enters the College, as well as by the clear sentiment of the community. The condition of the College is prosperous, and although changes might undoubtedly be introduced with advantage, the instruction and discipline are such as make an education at Cambridge what every young man should desire. The vacancy created in the Dane Professorship of Law by the death of Judge Story, has been filled by the appointment of Professor Greenleaf to that chair, and the Royall Professorship, formerly held by Mr. Greenleaf, has been accepted by Hon. William Kent of New York. Eleven young men have entered the Junior class of the Divinity School.

The Commencement exercises were attended as usual in the meetinghouse of the First Parish, on the last Wednesday of August, when sixty-four were graduated. The honorary degree of A. M. was conferred on Mr. Nathaniel Barker of Bellevue, Geo., John W. Fessenden Esq. of Boston, and Rev. James Means of Groton; the degree of LL. D. on Benjamin Rand Esq. of Boston, Hon. William Campbell of Columbia College, S. C., Hon. Henry Black of Quebec, and Hon. Thomas Granville of London; the degree of S. T. D. on Rev. Alexander Young of Boston, and Rev. Leonard Woods, Jr., of Bowdoin College, Me.

# INDEX.

- A.
- Abbot, A. W., *The Olneys* by, 458.
- African Race, the, 33—48—population of Africa, 34—character and destiny of, 35—history, 36—ancient, 39—Meroe, 41—modern history, 43—constitution and susceptibilities of the race, 44—progress, 46.
- Allen, J., *Discourse* by, 461.
- American Peace Society, 185.
- American Unitarian Association, 150.
- Anniversary Meetings, 148.
- Artistic Representations of the Trinity, Didron's work on, 365—380—object, 366—the Father how represented, 367—Father and Son, 369—portraits of the Son, 370—the glory, 372—its nature, 373—application, 374—nimbus and cross, 375—use and significance of the glory in East and West, 376—representations of the Spirit, 377—of the Trinity grouped, 378—types of the Trinity, 379—Pope's prohibition, *ib.*—utility of the work, 380.
- B.
- Barnard, H., *Report* by, 304.
- Beard, J. R., *Historical and Artistic Illustrations of the Trinity* etc., by, 56.
- Beecher, H. W., *Lectures* by, 267.
- Boston, a *Poem*, 146.
- Burnap, G. W. See *Ingalls*.
- Burritt, E., *Advocate of Peace* by, 185.
- C.
- Cambridge Divinity School, 305.
- Cartee, C. S., *Questions* etc., by, 137.
- Channing, W. E., *Thoughts* from, 460.
- Chapin, E. H. See *Dangers*. *Oration* by, 462.
- Cheever, G. B., *Writings* of, 404—421—*Lectures on Pilgrim's Progress*, 404—dreams, 405—Wanderings of a Pilgrim etc. 406—sermonising in books, 407—sectarianism, 409—Einsiedeln, 411—Catholic superstition, 413—faults of style, 414—merits, 417—cathedral of Milan, *ib.*—*Mer de Glace*, 418—love of formulas, 419—sound learning, 420.
- Churches, the, and the Church, 193—204—return to Rome, 193—Roman not the true Church, 194—how to be judged, 196—benefits of, 197—changes, 198—Protestant Reform, 199—consistent Protestantism, 201—bond of union, 202—the true Church, 203—signs of its coming, 204.
- Clarke, J. F., *Poem* by, 462.
- Coit, T. W., *Puritanism* by, 244.
- Coleman, L. See *Congregationalism*.
- Collation, the, 152.
- Congregationalism Vindicated — Young's *Duddelean Lecture*, 103—123—notice of Dudley, 103—importance of the subject, 105—the church instituted by Christ, 107—its officers, *ib.*—Apostle's commission, 109—Congregationalism, *ib.*—Prelacy, 110—not found in Scripture, 112—Apostolical Succession, 115—moral argument, 117—power of the clergy, 119—our forefathers, 121.—Fundamental Principles of Congregationalism, 230—259—significance of questions of organization, 231—antiquity of Congregationalism, 233—Punchard's history, *ib.*—the Paulicians, 234—primitive Church, 235—Coleman's *Work* on, *ib.*—Puritans and their Principles, 237—Hall's *Work* on, *ib.*—Prelatical and Congregational Organizations, 238—Bishops and Ordination, 239—Apostolical succession, 241—Coit's volume, 244—Puritans vindicated, 246—Maryland Colony, 248—intolerance of American

- Episcopacy, 250—rationalistic and hierarchical tendencies, 253—civil institutions, 256—results, 257.—Character and Position of Congregationalism, 427—451—independence of churches or congregations, 427—Sympathy, 429—Congregationalism Scriptural, 431—early Christian churches, 433—efficiency of Congregationalism, 435—influence on the Clergy, 437—on the laity, 440—Report of Committee, 441—present condition, 443—Christian liberty, 445—proposed Synod, 447—duty of Congregationalists, 449—Christian character, 451.
- Convention of Congregational Ministers, 154.
- D.
- Dana, S. B., Forecastle Tom by, 141.
- Dangers and Duties of Young Men, 259-272—books on, 259—Livermore's Lectures, 261—Chapin's and Sprague's volumes, 263—Smith's Counsels, 265—Beecher's Lectures, 267—prevalent evils, 270—call to effort, 271.
- D'Aubigne, J. H. Merle. See *Protestantism*.
- Dedications, 309.
- Dewey, O., Discourses by, 452.
- Didron, M. See *Artistic*.
- Dillaway, C. K., Cicero by, 145.
- E.
- Ecclesiastical Record, 147, 305, 463.
- Edes, E. H., Discourses etc. by, 297.
- Ellis, G. E., Discourse and Lecture by, 146.
- Evangelical Alliance, 464.
- Everett, E. See *University*.
- F.
- Fichte, J. G., Memoir of, 302.
- Flint, J., Sermon by, 146.
- Fox, C. J., History of Dunstable by, 18—33—changes in N. England, 18—valley of the Merrimac, 14—life and writings of Fox, 21—death and character, 24—intellectual qualities, 25—faith, 27—poetry, 28—patriotism, 29.
- Fox, T. B., Acts of the Apostles etc. by, 303.
- Friends, Pamphlets relating to, 143.
- G.
- Grahame, J. See *Quincy*.
- Green, M., Efforts etc. by, 303.
- Greenleaf, S., Testimony of the Evangelists by, 296.
- Greenwood, F. W. P., Miscellaneous Writings of, 392-405—qualities of style, 393—mental characteristics, 395—eternity of God, 396—religion of the sea, ib—Niagara, 398—Oxford, 399—ecclesiastical architecture, 400—Belsham, 401—ballad, 402—Palestine, 403.
- Grillparzer, Sappho by, 457.
- H.
- Hall, E. See *Congregationalism*.
- Hall, E. B., Address by. See *Relation*.
- Halm, F., Griselda by, 300.
- Harrington, H. F., Oration by, 462.
- Harvard University, 468.
- Hogan, W. See *Protestantism*.
- Hopkins, M., Lowell Lectures by, 216—224—merit, 218—internal evidences, ib.—characteristics of a true religion, 219—adaptation to conscience, ib.—to the affections, 220—to the intellect, 221—morality of the Gospel, 222—external evidences, 223.
- Huntington, F. T., Lessons on the Parables by, 137.
- Hymn Book, New, 422-426—character of, 422—defects, 423—hymn for affliction, 425—for a time of war, 426.
- I.
- Ingalls, H. A., Burnap's Memoir of, 138.
- Installations. See *Ordinations*.
- Intelligence, Religious, 147, 305, 463—Literary, 310—Miscellaneous, 466.
- J.
- Justification by Faith, 272—279—Christ's doctrine, 272—Paul's, 274—James's 277—difference, 278.
- L.
- Lamson, A., Sermon by, 244.
- Livermore, A. A., Lectures by, 261.
- Lothrop, S. K., Sermon by, 462.
- M.
- Malden, H., on Universities, 127.
- Mann, H., Lectures by, 456.
- Meadville Theological School, 306.
- Methodism, Catalogue of Works on, 144.
- Michelet, M. See *Protestantism*.
- Millerism, 87—97—uncertainty of

- the future, 87 — imaginative believers, 88 — new truths, 89 — origin of Millerism, 90 — character of its believers, 91 — Millerism of domestic life, 92 — of political, 93 — of reform, 94 — Christian sects, 96.
- Ministerial Conference, 152.
- Ministry at large, 463.
- Monumental Inscriptions, 466.
- Munford, W., Translation of *Iliad* by, 205–213 — former translations, 205 — Munford's, *ib.* — defects of, 206 — style, 207 — mistakes, 208 — notes, 209 — quotations from Bible, 210 — comparisons, 211 — modern criticism, 212.
- Munn, C. E., Statement of Reasons, etc. by, 461.
- Mythical Theory applied to the Life of Jesus, 313–354 — translation of Strauss's work on, 313 — Strauss's personal history, 314 — work, 315 — theory stated, 317 — preceding critics, 319 — myths on the New Testament, 320 — meaning of myth, 322 — criteria, 323 — objections, 325 — peculiarity of the theory, 327 — support, 328 — details, 329 — birth and childhood of Jesus, *ib.* — public life, 332 — John the Baptist, 333 — Jesus as the Messiah, 335 — discourses and parables of, 336 — miracles, 337 — transfiguration, 339 — sufferings and resurrection, 340 — dogmatic import of the Life of Jesus, 342 — general plan and execution, 343 — discrepancies in Gospels, 345 — time of writing, 348, — strictures and objections, 349, — philosophy and infidelity, 354.
- N.
- Newell, W., Sermon by, 146.
- Niles, M. A. H., Sermon by, 462.
- O.
- Obituary, Rev. Robert Aspland, 155.
- Ohlenschlager, Correggio by, 457.
- Ordinations and Installations, 154, 309, 466.
- P.
- Parker, T., Sermon by, 175.
- Pascal, B., Thoughts of, 141.
- Peabody, W. B. O., Alumni Address by. See *Priests*. — Sermon by, 146.
- Peace, cause of, 173–192 — progress of peace principles, 173 — recent publications, 174 — life and services of T. Thrush, 176. See *Thrush*. — American Peace Society, 185 — International Addresses, 187 — Address of Unitarian Ministers of Great Britain and Ireland, 188 — encouraging circumstances, 189 — Mexican War, 192.
- Peirce, B., on Curves, etc. 459.
- People's Journal, 460.
- Perry, W. C., on German University Education, 129.
- Pilgrim's Progress. See *Cheever*.
- Plumer, W., *Lyrica Sacra* by, 459.
- Poetry—Hymn on worship, 224 — Deaths of little children, 226 — Revelation, 229 — Press thou on, *ib.*
- Polk, J. T., pamphlet by, 462.
- Priest and King, true idea of — Peabody's Address, 355–365 — teaching of the Scriptures, 365 — true sovereignty, 357 — ceremonials, 358 — character, 359 — responsibility and influence, 360 — religious principle, 362 — substance of Unitarianism, 363.
- Protestantism, 1–18 — recent anti-Romanist publications, 1 — Hogan, 2 — Michelet, *ib.* — Quinet, 3 — D'Aubigne, *ib.* — term Protestantism, 4 — spiritualism and formalism, 5 — early Jewish Christians, 7 — Gentile, 8 — progress of corruption, 9 — Luther, 11 — creeds, 13 — the priesthood, 15 — ordination, 17.
- Pulpit Elocution, 49–56 — Russell's treatise on, 49 — ineffective preaching, 41 — natural manner, 53 — artificial, 54 — importance of the study, 55. — Subjects for pulpit. See *Subjects*.
- Punchard, G. See *Congregationalism*.
- Puritans. See *Congregationalism*.
- Q.
- Quincy, J., Memoir of Grahame by, 146.
- Quinet, E. See *Protestantism*.
- R.
- Relations of Christian Ministry to Reform—Hall's Address on, 157–173 — basis of reform, 158 — presumed necessary evils, 159 — the Church, 160 — war, 163 — Chris-

- tian accountableness, 165—means of reform, 167—attention to the subject, 169—duty of ministers, 171.
- Report on Congregationalism. See *Congregationalism*.
- Russell, W. See *Pulpit*.
- S. Sacred Meditations, 460.
- Self-Formation, 136.
- Serial Works, 312.
- Sharpe, D., Sermon by, 174.
- Smith, M. H., Counsels etc. by, 265.
- Sphere of Human Influence, 213—216—impression of words upon air, 213—law of motion, 214—record of human deeds, 216.
- Spooner, L., Poverty etc. by, 146.
- Sprague, W. B. See *Dangers*.
- Stow, B., Missionary Enterprise etc. 142.
- Strauss, D. F. See *Mythical Theory*.
- Stuart, M., Miscellanies by, 293.
- Subjects for the Pulpit, 381—392—religious impression, 381—suited to morning service, 382—evening service, 383—Natural Theology, ib.—history of Church, ib.—biography, 386—evidences of Christianity, 388—circumstantial preaching, 390—demands of the age, 391.
- Sumner, C., Oration by, 462.
- Sunday School Association, (Eng.), 309.
- Sunday School Society, 153.
- T. Thrush, T., Memoir of, 176—early life of, ib.—change of views, 178—letter of, 179—resigns his commission in navy, 181—writings, 182—close of life, 183.
- Trinity, History of Doctrine of, 56—86—Beard's Essay, 56—origin of Trinity, 57—Philo Judæus, 59—Platonists, 60—Christian Fathers, 63—Logos, 65—Justin Martyr, 66—Athanagoras, 68—Irenæus, 69—Clement, 70—Origen, 73—Tertullian, 75—other Latin Fathers, 78—gradual formation of Trinity, 81—Arianism, 83—Holy Spirit, 84—completion of Trinity, 85. See *Artistic*.
- Tuckerman, H. T., Thoughts on the Poets by, 302.
- Tuthill, My Wife by, 459.
- U. Ullmann, C., Worship of Genius by, 298.
- Ulrici, H., Shakspeare's Dramatic Art by, 299.
- Unitarian Association of N. Y., 307—British and Foreign, 308.
- Unitarian Ministers of Great Britain and Ireland, Peace Address by, 188.
- University Education, 123—135—public interest in, 124—President Everett's Inaugural Address, 125—formation of character, ib.—English Universities, 127—term University, how used, 128—German University education, 119—early European Universities, 130—taste and habits of German students, 131—Statistics, 132—Pres. Everett, 134.
- W. Ware, H., David Ellington by, 304.
- Waterston, R. C., Discourse by, 146.
- Waylen, E., Ecclesiastical Reminiscences by, 453.
- Webster, F., Oration by, 174.
- Wellbeloved, C. See *Thrush*.
- Whewell, W., Elements of Morality by, 97—103—ground taken with respect to religion, 99—compared with Paley, 100—cases of conscience, 101.
- Whitaker, E. K., Address by, 462.
- Wilson, J., Scripture Proofs etc. by, 139.
- Woolman, J., Journal etc. of, 140.
- Worcester, J. E., Dictionary by, 455.
- Wyman, M., on Ventilation, 458.
- Y. Young, A., Chronicles of first Planters of Massachusetts by, 279—292—Documents contained in, 280—exaggerated descriptions, 282—Shakspeare's Tempest, ib.—farther account of contents, 285—early colonists, 287—mount Wollaston, 289—merits of the work, 291. See *Congregationalism*.



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### NOTICES.

THE PEOPLE'S JOURNAL. We have received from Messrs. Crosby & Nichols, a set, including the September number of this excellent periodical, the best, without exception, that comes to us from the other side of the Atlantic. We have already enriched our columns with the interesting article on the author of the Iron Railway system from the September number. And we see nothing which we could transfer to our columns without enriching them. This People's Journal is in fact produced by a combination of the very best writers and artists in Great Britain. When we say best writers and artists we mean so. We mean those who devote their talents to the great work of making this world fit to live in. They are philanthropists.

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It will do more to promote peace and a good understanding between two countries which should be the last in the world to quarrel, than any number of Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews.—*Chronotype*.

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